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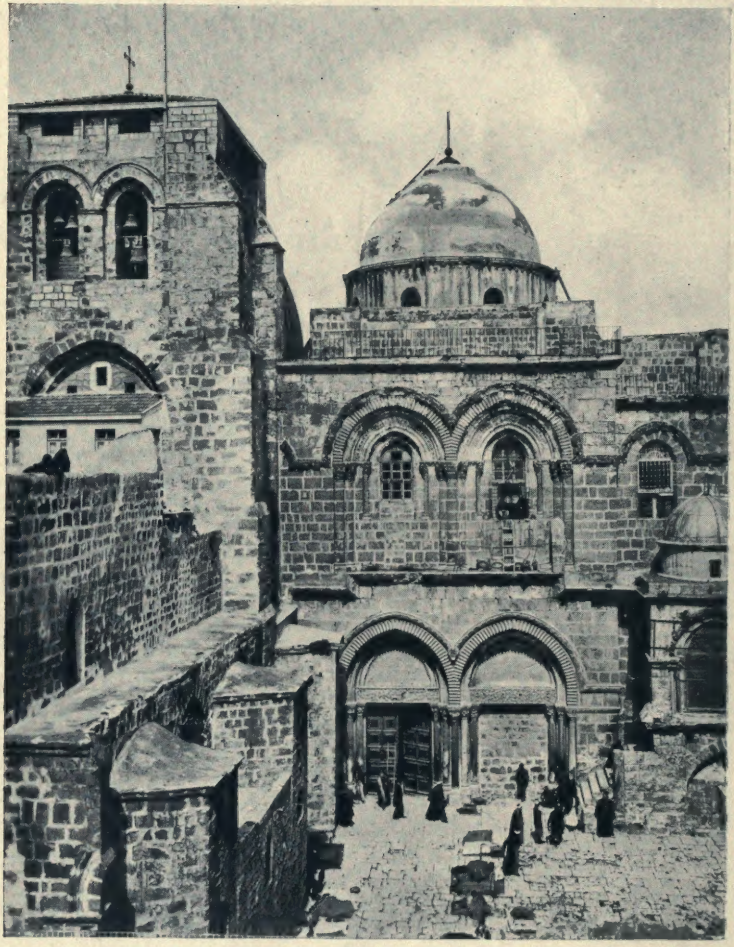

Photo, Bonfils.

SOUTH VIEW OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

Frontispiece.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

BY THE REV.

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"Posuit eum in monumento, quod erat excisum de petra, et advolvit lapidem ad ostium monumenti." *Ev. Marc.* xv. 46.
"Lapis offensionis et petra scandali."
Ep. Petri I. ii. 8.

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PREFACE

THE solution of the problem of Golgotha and the Sepulchre offered in this book favours, though not entirely without reserve, the tradition of the Church of Jerusalem. That Church was judged by the Convocation of the Provinces of Canterbury and York, holden at London in the year 1562, "to have erred not only in living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith." It is possible, indeed, that its faith in the identity of the Golgotha and Sepulchre of tradition with the Golgotha and Sepulchre of the Gospels is an error. But the error —so the present writer ventures to maintain—is not very great, though its extent is not subject to definition in terms of any exact system of measurement.

It seems to be assumed by many that the existing circuit of the walls of Jerusalem, which dates from A.D. 1542, is exactly identical with the circuit of the walls as they stood at the time of our Lord's Crucifixion. That assumption cannot be justified. The circuit of the walls has changed in extent and content from time to time. The fact that Golgotha

lay outside the walls at the time when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judæa cannot even be taken as proving that it still lay outside them when the charge of that province was conferred upon Porcius Festus. The southern half of the western hill of Jerusalem ("Sion" of local Christian tradition) lay without the walls in the days of Godfrey and Tancred; it was enclosed within them in the days of Vespasian and Titus. From the mere fact, then, that the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is now within the walls, it cannot be inferred that it was also within the walls in, let us say, A.D. 30.

There is more substance in the argument that acceptance of the traditional Golgotha as identical, or approximating to identity, with the true Golgotha involves placing the "Second Wall" (the outer northern defence of the city in Pilate's time) on a course in which it must have been fatally exposed to the discharge of missiles from the ground rising towards the site now occupied by the Franciscan Casa della Terra Santa. In answer to this, however, it may be pointed out that, granting the existence of such a defect in the northern defences of the city at the time of the Crucifixion, yet the construction of the "Third Wall" (or "Wall of Bezetha") by Herod Agrippa in A.D. 41–44 was adapted to remedy this defect. Furthermore, the high ground in what is now the North-West corner of

the walled area, the ground from which catapults and *ballistæ* could have been discharged with effect against the defenders of the "Second Wall," was itself dominated from the upper floors and roofs of the three great towers which guarded the northern end of the western hill.

The sites pointed out in this year of grace 1922 as the very places where Christ was crucified and rose from the dead were recognized in that character nearly sixteen hundred years ago. They were then *within* the walls of the city. That Golgotha and the Sepulchre must originally have lain "without the gate" (Hebr. xiii. 12) was as well known to the Church of Jerusalem in the fourth century as it is to any church or sect of the present day. Supposing that Bishop Macarius and his people knew nothing more of the true sites of Golgotha and the Sepulchre save that they were "without the gate" when our Lord suffered death and rose again to life, why should they pitch upon sites which in their own day were *within* the walls, when they could just as well have pitched upon sites lying without them? Their identification of intra-mural sites as those of Golgotha and the Sepulchre can be accounted for only on the hypothesis of a local tradition. Is it necessary to assume that the tradition must have been absolutely worthless?

The traditional Golgotha and Sepulchre would

probably be regarded with much less suspicion, were it not for the unhappy divisions of Christendom and the innumerable scandals that have been perpetrated in sight of, and even upon, the very sites, of all others, where contentions and violence are most unseemly. The quarrels of Christians over access to, or guardianship over, the places identified as those of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, have been a crucifying of the Son of Man afresh and putting Him to open shame. It is not surprising that many have felt that the traditional identifications have been disproved by the subsequent scandals. These evils might be regarded as the just Nemesis of an imposture. Could the Almighty have suffered the true Golgotha and the true Sepulchre to be so horribly profaned? Furthermore, a number of identifications of "Holy Places" in Jerusalem, and elsewhere in the Holy Land are obviously unhistorical, obviously mere "inventions." Who is to believe in the identification of the place where the cock stood crowing at the moment when Peter denied with an oath that he knew his Master? In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre itself, one is shown the respective scenes of the Mock Coronation, the Division of the Garments, and the Centurion's Confession. Some beams and large nails were probably enough disinterred in the crypt now known as the Chapel of the Finding

of the Cross. But the identification of these objects with the instruments of the Passion was the act of an arbitrary will to believe, not of a reasonable consideration of probability. It is most significant that Eusebius of Cæsarea, who entertained no doubt with regard to the genuineness of the Sepulchre, has not a word to say of the alleged Finding of the Cross.

It is not contended in this work that the traditional Golgotha and Sepulchre are exactly identical with the Golgotha and Sepulchre of the Gospels. The view taken by the writer is that if the traditional sites are not exactly identical with the original ones, yet they are not very far from them; that *somewhere* in the area occupied by the buildings collectively known as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre the Crucifixion and the Resurrection took place. This view involves acceptance of the tradition of the Church of Jerusalem in the first three centuries as in the main trustworthy. It does not involve acceptance of the absurd identifications added to that tradition in subsequent ages, even though some of those identifications followed close upon the uncovering of the sites recognized and declared in A.D. 326, and still believed by multitudes of Christians at the present day to be those of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection.

The existing Church of the Holy Sepulchre is a

barbarous reconstruction of mediæval structures ruined and nearly destroyed by a great fire which broke out on the night of September 30 (O.S. = October 12, N.S.), A.D. 1808. As the "sacramental body" of Poland was partitioned between Austria, Russia, and Prussia in the eighteenth century, so the sacred buildings erected over and around the Golgotha and Sepulchre of tradition have been in the main partitioned between the Greek, the Roman and the Armenian Church. Unlike the partitioners of Poland, the chief partitioners of the Church of the Sepulchre have continually quarrelled over their prey. Their conflicting claims are likely to give trouble to the future governors of Jerusalem, and probably enough the issue will be the secularization of the whole site, the demolition of existing structures, and the substitution of a large apartment-house, an office-building, or perhaps a moving-picture theatre. It would be well if the Churches now in possession were to agree quickly together and join forces for the preservation of the site for Christian worship.

TORONTO,
1922.

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PART III

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INTRODUCTION

THE references given in the footnotes will show the extent to which George Williams' *Holy City* and especially the essay on the architectural history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, by Robert Willis, included in the second volume of the work, have been made use of in the compilation of this book.

More than seventy years have passed since the first publication of the *Holy City*, but the work done by George Williams and Robert Willis, worthy maintainers of the Cantabrigian tradition of sound learning, is still of first-rate importance and value. To their memory the writer offers the service (such as it may be—*laudis exiguum munus*) of this acknowledgment.

It is at once a duty and a pleasure to bear testimony to the value of the papers contributed in 1910 to the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* by Mr. George Jeffery, the remembrance of whose friendship is a treasured legacy from delightful years of sojourn in the Levant. The writer congratulates Mr. Jeffery on the recent publication of his book on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by

the University of Cambridge, and begs to assure him that if the book had been published two years earlier, it would have been consulted (or plundered) as diligently as the papers in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects.*

I am indebted for the following description of S. Sepulchre's, Cambridge, to my friend, Mr. J. H. Mozley, of King's College, Cambridge, formerly lecturer in Classics at Trinity College, Toronto.

Extract from the *History of Cambridgeshire* by Robert Gardner (1851) :—

"Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This ancient edifice . . . consists of two distinct fabrics; one of a circular form, and the other in the perpendicular style. . . . The Norman and circular body is entered through a western door, the arch of which is embellished round with zigzag mouldings in the Norman style. . . . The clerestory of the circular nave contains eight small Norman windows, and the aisle four of the same kind somewhat larger, while the onward view is bounded by the large eastern window of the chancel. . . . The peristyle consists of eight massive Norman piers, and stands on a continuous ring of fine stone, the pavement within which is formed of encaustic tiles, and this nave is entirely open. . . . The altar table and rails at the east end are the result of the decision of the court which removed the stone altar. . . . It cannot be supposed that this church was built by either of the two above-named religious orders of chivalry" (Knights Hospitalers and Templars) "as its consecration

took place in 1101, nearly twenty years before these orders were instituted."

I have to acknowledge (and I do so with the greatest pleasure) the assistance rendered by my friend, Mr. Gerald Wilkes, of Galt, Ontario, in preparing plans of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as it stood at various times since its first erection. I have also to acknowledge the courtesy of Messrs. Underwood and Underwood of New York, of M. Bonfil's successor at Beyrout, and of Messrs. Deighton and Bell, who have given permission for the use of photographs and plans which are their property.

Finally, I must thank my friend, the Rev. A. Nairne, D.D., for most welcome and valuable assistance in the correction of proofs and arrangement of illustrations.

H.T.F.D.

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Part I

ROMAN EPOCH, A.D. 30–630

CHAPTER I

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE CITY OF JERUSALEM AND THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE

In its modern aspect and form, the ground occupied by the city of Jerusalem may be described as an uneven plateau having a general inclination from West to East and running southward into a kind of promontory between converging valleys. Of these valleys the western one, called Wady-er-Rababeh by the native inhabitants, is supposed to be the Valley of Hinnom; the eastern one is the Valley of the Kedron or Valley of Jehoshaphat. Across the Valley of the Kedron from Jerusalem is Olivet, the Mount of Olives, "the mount that is before Jerusalem." [1] The Valley of Hinnom, curving eastward to meet the Valley of the Kedron, is shut in on the south by a hill distinguished, since the fifteenth century, by the name of "the Hill of Evil Counsel." [2] From the junction of these two

[1] 1 Kings xi. 7, with Dr. Skinner's note, in the *Century Bible*.

[2] Williams, *Holy City*, vol. I. Supplement, p. 56. The "evil counsel" is that of Judas Iscariot, whose bargain with the rulers of Jewry was said to have been struck in the high priest's suburban house on that hill.

valleys the Wady-en-Nar (" Valley of Fire ") runs in a south-easterly direction down to the Monastery of Mar-Saba and the Dead Sea.[1]

Originally, the site which is now a plateau consisted of a group of hills standing between the Valley of Hinnom and the Valley of the Kedron. These hills were separated from each other by valleys or ravines which in the course of thirty centuries and in consequence of repeated demolitions and devastations have become choked with *débris* and for the most part are no longer easy to trace, especially as inhabited houses stand upon the accumulated masses of ruin. The western hill, however, on which lay the " Upper City " or " Upper Market " mentioned and described by Josephus,[2] and the eastern hill, the summit of which was occupied of old by the Temple of Jehovah, and is now covered by the " Dome of the Rock," [3] are

[1] The name of the " Valley of Fire " may be derived from the infanticidal holocausts offered by idolatrous kings of Judah on the " Mount of Offence," which is the southernmost part of Olivet. It is to be noted that the modern inhabitants speak of the Valley of the Kedron as the " Valley of Hinnom." This identification may be traced back as far as the fourth century C.E.

[2] *Bell. Jud.* V. iv. 1–2. For many centuries this hill has been called " Sion " by the Christians. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. I. pp. 161–165 and p. 145, note 4.

[3] Kubbet-es-Sakhra. The building is commonly, but quite erroneously, called " the Mosque of Omar." But (*a*) it is not, properly speaking, a " mosque," and (*b*) it was not erected by Omar.

still discernible; especially the former. The ravine which separates these two hills, and is called by Josephus "the Valley of the Cheesemakers," [1] is most clearly traceable in its southernmost part, outside the present circuit of the city walls, though indication of its existence is also furnished within the walls, to the west of the "Haram-es-Sherif," i.e. the Temple Precinct, by a depression in the ground.[2] The line of a third valley or ravine, bounding the western hill on its northern flank, is followed more or less closely by the thoroughfares leading eastwards from the Western or Jaffa Gate to the "Gate of the Chain" in the west wall of the Haram-es-Sherif.[3] The city-walls form an irregular and indented quadrilateral, with a circuit of about two and a half miles. This circuit leaves out the southern half of the western hill and the southern declivity of the eastern or Temple hill—the declivity identified with "Ophel" and the site of the "City of David." [4] Inscriptions placed at various points upon these walls testify that they were rebuilt in A.H. 948 =

[1] Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* V. iv. 1.

[2] The depression in which the modern "Street of the Mill Valley" runs.

[3] Watson, *Jerusalem*, pp. 6–9.

[4] See the plans of Jerusalem in Williams, *Holy City*; Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels* (opp. p. 119); G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*; Watson, *Jerusalem*. With regard to "Ophel" and the "City of David," see Williams, op. cit. vol. II. pp. 364–366; Smith, op. cit. vol. I. pp. 135–169.

A.D. 1541–1542, at the order of Sultan Suleiman ("Solyman the Magnificent," the conqueror of Rhodes, Belgrade, and Buda).[1] Tradition relates that the engineer who had charge of the work was put to death by the Sultan for not having included the southern part of the western hill, and with it the reputed Sepulchre of David, within the circuit.[2] The lines followed by the walls are the same as those of the fortifications assailed and stormed by the Crusaders in A.D. 1099, and these again appear to have been practically identical with the *enceinte* drawn for the city by Hadrian's engineers, when it became a *colonia civium Romanorum* under the name of Ælia Capitolina.[3]

From the Jaffa Gate,[4] which opens about midway

[1] Syria and Egypt were annexed to the Ottoman Empire in A.D. 1517 by Suleiman's father, Selim I. The year of the Hegira 948=A.D. 1541–1542, which witnessed the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, also witnessed the establishment of the head-quarters of a Pashalik at Buda, in Hungary.

[2] Williams, *H.C.* vol. I. Supplement, pp. 39–40, and 64.

[3] Dr. Schick, who for many years held the position of sanitary engineer to the municipality of Jerusalem, told the present writer in 1896 that in his opinion the circuit of the walls, as then standing (i.e. as rebuilt by Sultan Suleiman), was identical with that of Ælia Capitolina.

[4] In native parlance, Bab-el-Khalil ("the Gate of the Friend," and so "the Hebron Gate," because the road to Hebron starts from this gate, and at Hebron is the sepulchre of Abraham "the friend of God"—Isa. xli. 8, 2 Chron. xx. 7, James ii. 23). It is called *Porta David* by mediæval Christian writers. See Williams, *H.C.* vol. I. Supplement, p. 41. The gateway was

in the length of the western wall of the city, a street called *David Street* runs down eastwards in the direction of the Temple hill, terminating at the "Gate of the Chain" in the western wall of the Temple precinct.[1] To the left (of one facing east —i.e. to the north) of *David Street* lies the Haret-en-Nassara or "Christian Quarter." About a hundred and eighty yards down the street, and on the left hand, there opens a street leading northwards, nowadays called *Christian Street*, but in former times *Patriarch Street*.[2] A hundred and fifty yards north of the junction of *David Street* and *Christian Street* a narrow lane leads off from the latter eastward, ending in a flight of steps which descends to the south side of the "parvis" or paved forecourt of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

demolished in 1898, in order to admit the German Emperor. Ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὑμῶν. . . .]

[1] Properly speaking, "David Street" or (as the *indigenæ* call it) "Suk-el-Bizar" is the name of the western portion of the thoroughfare; the eastern being "Temple Street" or "Suk Bab-es-Silsileh." See the plan of the city in G. A. Smith, op. cit. vol. I. and the map, based on the Ordnance Survey of 1841, in Williams, *H.C.* at the end of vol. I. The "Christian Quarter," occupying the north-west part of the city, is not the only part inhabited by Christians. There is also the Armenian Quarter on the western hill, south of "David Street."

[2] Williams, *H.C.* vol. I. Supplement, p. 134 (document called "La Citez de Iherusalem"); Watson, *Jerusalem*, p. 199. Plan accompanying Mr. Jeffery's third article on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. XVII. p. 805 (Oct. 22, 1910); see also the *Quarterly Review*, No. 379, p. 120.

From the foot of the steps, a narrow street, called *Tanners' Street* (Haret-el-Debbaghîn),[1] gives access eastward to the *Street of the Column Gate* (Tarik Bab-el-Amûd), which leads northward to the "Column Gate" (Bab-el-Amûd), more generally known as the Damascus Gate, which is the principal northern entrance of the city.[2] To the north of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is the *Khot-el-Khankeh*,[3] a street running from west to east. *Christian Street* ends in the *Khot-el-Khankeh*, and

[1] *Palmer Street* in the Middle Ages. At the eastern end, as we learn from the anonymous compiler of the mediæval Pilgrim's Vade Mecum known as *La Citez de Iherusalem*, there was "the place of the Syrian goldsmiths, where they sold the palms which palmers bring from beyond the sea." This document dates from about A.D. 1200. The name "Tanners' Street" is derived from tanneries which at one time were installed in the ruins of mediæval monastic buildings. See Williams, *H.C.* vol. I. Supplement, pp. 18 and 134, and the plans in the *Journal of the R.I.B.A.* and the *Quarterly Review* referred to in the last note.

[2] The "Street of the Column Gate" was called the "Street of S. Stephen" in the Middle Ages. The part which lies nearest the Church of the Sepulchre is distinguished as *Khan-ez-Zeit*, i.e. the Oil Market. The column, from which the Arabic name of the northern gate is derived, disappeared long ago. It is shown in the Madeba Mosaic (sixth century : see Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church*, p. 307, and Dowling, *Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem*, p. 143), and is described in Adamnan, *De Locis Sanctis*, I. xi. (Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, p. 239). For other names of this gate (Bab-es-Sham, Porta S. Stephani, Porta Neapolitana, Damascus Gate) see Williams, *H.C.* I. Supplement, pp. 41–42.

[3] *Sepulchre Street* in the age of the Crusades.

the Tarik As-Sarai continues the latter on the east of the Tarik Bab-el-Amûd.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, then, lies within, and well within, the walls of Jerusalem. It is some four hundred yards distant from the Kasr-el-Jalud ("Goliath's Castle"),[1] which stands in the north-west corner of the city. About the same distance parts the Church from the Damascus Gate. The Church includes the traditional site of Golgotha as well as that of the Sepulchre of Christ, and the Gospels represent both as lying *without* the city.[2] But the site of the Church has been an intra-mural one ever since its first dedication in A.D. 335, and indeed ever since the completion of Hadrian's Ælia Capitolina, nearly two hundred years earlier. Those with whom the Emperor Constantine took counsel concerning the search for the Lord's Sepulchre knew as well as we do the local relation in which the Gospel narratives set Golgotha and the Sepulchre to the city walls. It is at least possible that sites which are intra-mural now, and were intra-mural in Ælia Capitolina, were extra-mural when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judæa. In the case of the traditional site of the Sepulchre of Christ this possibility

[1] The site of the Kasr-el-Jalud may be identical with that of the tower Psephinus described by Josephus in *B.J.* V. iv. 3; Williams, *H.C.* Supplement to vol. I. p. 85.

[2] See Matt. xxvii. 32, Mark xv. 20, John xix. 17, 20, 41, and Heb. xiii. 12.

becomes a certainty, at any rate for *some* epoch anterior to the building and fortifying of Ælia Capitolina. The Holy Sepulchre *was* originally a rock-hewn sepulchre, whether it is, or is not, the sepulchre in which Joseph of Arimathæa laid the dead body of our Lord. At the time when it was hewn out of the rock, it must have lain *outside* the circuit of the city walls.[1]

[1] Burial within the walls of cities was not an Israelite custom. It is true that the tombs of David, Solomon, and most of their successors lay within the walls of Jerusalem (see 1 Kings ii. 10, xi. 43, xiv. 31, xv. 8, 24, xxii. 50; 2 Kings ix. 28, xii. 19, xiv. 20, xv. 7, 38, xvi. 20; 2 Chron. xxxii. 33; it is not certain that the burial-places of Manasseh, Amon, and Josiah—see 2 Kings xxi. 18, 26, xxiii. 30—were within the walls), but Ezekiel censured the practice (xliii. 7–9). Furthermore, what might be allowed to kings might not be allowed to other folk. The evidence of the New Testament points to burial *without* the walls of cities and towns: see Luke vii. 12, John xi. 20, 33, 38.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF THE SEPULCHRE, A.D. 30–130

In A.D. 41 the Kingdom of Herod the Great, which had been divided since his death (4 B.C.), was reunited in the hand of his grandson Herod Agrippa, the Herod of Acts xii., by the Emperor Claudius.[1] The new King of the Jews found that an extensive suburb had grown up immediately without the northern defences of Jerusalem, which at that time ran along an irregular, indented line, the extreme points of which are now severally represented by the citadel (Al Kala) close to the Jaffa Gate and the barracks in the north-west corner of the Haram-es-Sherif or Temple Precinct. To what extent the growth of this suburb had advanced at the time when Pontius Pilate was recalled from the government of Judæa, i.e. A.D. 37, or whether it had then even begun, are questions which can only be answered by conjecture drawn from evidence of

[1] On Herod Agrippa, see Williams, *H.C.* vol. I. pp. 140–150; Morrison, *The Jews under the Romans*, pp. 158–159.

a very scanty sort. Evidence, however, there is, and some use can be made of it. "The place called 'The Skull'"[1] must have been outside, though not far outside, the city, and to the north of it. "As they came out, they found a man of Cyrene, Simon by name: him they compelled to bear his cross."[2] "This title then read many of the Jews; for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city."[3] Only on the north side of the city would there have been space enough, near the walls, for a great concourse of people, such as watched the Crucifixion.[4] On the west, south and east, the walls ran along precipitous ground.[5]

"In the place where He was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid. There laid they Jesus therefore, because of the Jews' preparation-day; for the sepulchre was nigh at hand." The sepulchre was "hewn out in the rock."[6] The existence of a

[1] There is nothing in the Gospels to suggest that Golgotha was a "hill" or any sort of eminence. The real origin of the name is unknown.

[2] Matt. xxvii. 32 (*ἐξερχόμενοι*), Mark xv. 20 and 21 (*ἐρχόμενον ἀπ' ἀγροῦ*), John xix. 17.

[3] John xix. 20.

[4] Luke xxiii. 48 (*πάντες οἱ συμπαραγενόμενοι ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ταύτην*).

[5] See the description in Josephus, *B.J.* V. iv. 1 and plans of Jerusalem in Williams, *H.C.*; Smith, *Jerusalem*; Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*; Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*.

[6] Matt. xxvii. 60, Mark xv. 46, Luke xxiii. 53. The sepulchre near the place of crucifixion; John xix. 41–42.

garden does not necessarily imply that of a dwelling-house immediately adjoining it. Joseph's house may have been within the city. The fact that there was a tomb in the garden makes it indeed improbable that Joseph's house adjoined the garden, for in that case it would have been "sanctified" with all that was in it, as soon as a dead body had been placed in the tomb.[1] There may have been other gardens, and probably there were other tombs, in the vicinity. But on the whole the evidence of the New Testament indicates that few, if any dwellings, were to be found in this vicinity at the time when the Crucifixion took place. The exact date of the Crucifixion is not known. Our Lord "suffered under Pontius Pilate," but Pilate was governor of Judæa for more than ten years, viz. A.D. 26–37.[2] The year 37, therefore, is the latest year to which the Crucifixion can be assigned. The evidence of the Gospels indicates an earlier date, but how much earlier is uncertain.[3]

By A.D. 41 a suburb large enough to be called

[1] Jevons, *Hist. of Religion*, pp. 66, 76–78, 80.

[2] Pilate was sent into exile in Gaul by Caligula (Williams, *H.C.* I. 132), who became *princeps* in the latter part of March, A.D. 37. Tiberius died on March 16 (Sueton., *Tiberius*, c. 73; Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 50).

[3] The year indicated in Luke iii. 1 is A.D. 28–29. John mentions three Passovers in our Lord's public ministry (ii. 13, vi. 4, xii. 1). These would be the Passovers of A.D. 30, 31 and 32. But the Paschal Full Moon did not fall on a Friday in any of those years.

the " New City " had grown up immediately without the northern walls of Jerusalem.[1] It might have grown up in five years, but possibly a full decade may reasonably be supposed as the period within which this " New Jerusalem " came into being. That burial-places were disturbed and built over is a thing impossible to believe. Thus Joseph's garden would be preserved, being protected by the sanctity of the tomb enclosed within it. The Christians in Jerusalem would be able to point out to " strangers and pilgrims," not only the Sepulchre of David,[2] but also the Sepulchre of Jesus the Son of David. With full assurance they could repeat the angel's invitation, " Come, see the place where the Lord lay." [3]

For the defence of the new suburb, Herod Agrippa began the construction of a wall which appears to have taken much the same course as the present northern wall of the city.[4] But having begun to build, he was not able to finish. The enterprise attracted the notice and stirred the suspicions of the governor of Syria, Gaius Vibius Marsus, who ordered the king to abandon his design. The foundation-courses, however, had all been laid

[1] Josephus, *B.J.* V. iv. 2.
[2] Acts ii. 29.
[3] Matt. xxviii. 6.
[4] Josephus, l.c.; Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. I. Map 6 and pp. 244–247.

before the work was stopped, and in A.D. 70 the Jewish insurgents built up the wall to a height sufficient to enable them to hold it for fifteen days against Titus and his army.[1]

The burning of the "New City" by Cestius Gallus in A.D. 66 [2] left little for Titus to order in A.D. 70 by way of further destruction there, but what little remained to be done must have been done, either by direct command of the Imperator, or as an inevitable accompaniment of the siege operations.[3]

When the last efforts of the besieged had been beaten down, Titus caused all that remained of the city to be demolished and "laid on heaps" with the exception of the three great towers of Hippicus, Phasaëlus, and Mariamne on the western hill, and a portion of the western wall. These were preserved for the accommodation and defence of the Tenth Legion, which was left in occupation of the city.[4]

The survivors of the triple scourge of famine, pestilence, and the sword, which had afflicted Jerusalem, were carried off into captivity.[5] Save

[1] Josephus, *B.J.* V. iv. 2, vii. 2.

[2] Ib. op. cit. II. xix. 4.

[3] The besiegers advanced through the "New City" to the attack upon the Second Wall, which ran in a general north-east direction from the north front of the "Upper City" to the Castle Antonia at the north-west corner of the Temple Precinct.

[4] Josephus, *B.J.* VII. i. 6.

[5] Josephus, *B.J.* VI. ix. 3, VII. ii. 3, iii. 1, v. 5.

for the cantonment of the Tenth Legion in what had been the Upper City, Jerusalem was left desolate.

How long this desolation continued unbroken, save for the presence of the Roman garrison—an army of observation stationed in a conquered province—cannot be stated with exactness. It appears, however, that by A.D. 130 the waste places of Jerusalem were being built up, albeit very slowly. The Emperor Hadrian, visiting the site of Jerusalem in that year, in the course of one of his journeys through the provinces of the Empire, found a small Christian settlement upon the western hill.[1] After the unsuccessful attempt made by Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, to repress the tumults which broke out in Jerusalem in A.D. 66, the Christian inhabitants of the city, knowing that its doom was sealed by the momentary success of the insurgents, withdrew to Pella in the region east of the Jordan. Some time, though how soon is not known, after the capture and destruction of Jerusalem, they returned to the scene of the tragedy,[2] and began to do their part, though it could only be a small part, towards "raising up the former desolations." The building in which they assembled and met together

[1] Williams, *H.C.* vol. I. pp. 205–206, and II. pp. 507–508, quoting Epiphanius, *de Ponderibus et Mensuris*, c. 14.

[2] Williams, *H. C.* vol. I. pp. 199–203; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* II. 5 and 11.

for prayer and praise and the breaking of bread was believed, three hundred years later, to be still in existence; it was also believed to be the house containing the upper room in which the Supper of the Lord had been instituted as His memorial, and the Holy Ghost had descended upon the disciples.[1] It is quite possible that the building in which the Christians of Jerusalem assembled for worship in the time of Hadrian was still in existence under Constantine and Theodosius, or even under Justinian, but it cannot have been the very house in which took place the institution of the Lord's Supper and the Descent of the Holy Ghost. That house must have perished in the catastrophe of A.D. 70.[2]

It is possible, however, that the church which

[1] Williams, *H.C.* vol. II. pp. 507–508. Epiphanius, quoted on p. 508 (see note 1, p. 38), was bishop of Constantia (Salamis) in Cyprus under Valens and Theodosius I., i.e. between 365 and 395 C.E. Etheria, who visited Jerusalem not later than A.D. 390, expressly identifies the Church of Sion with the place where the Holy Ghost descended upon the company of the faithful (*Peregrinatio*, c. 43, in Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, pp. 93, 94; see also Duchesne, *Christian Worship* [E.T.], pp. 516 and 570). Cyril of Jerusalem calls this church "the upper Church of the Apostles" (Catech. xvi. 4: date, A.D. 347 or 348; quoted below, ch. iv. n. 2, p. 77).

[2] See note 1, p. 38. The site of the Sion Church mentioned by Epiphanius and Etheria, the "Upper Church of the Apostles" mentioned by Cyril (see the last note) is identified with that of the building called by Moslems and Jews the Sepulchre of David, which stands outside and to the south of the modern walls, on the western hill.

stood on the western hill of Jerusalem in A.D. 130 occupied nearly, if not exactly, the site of the house of the Lord's Supper and the Descent of the Holy Ghost. Amid all the confusion of the ruins covering the whole of the ground occupied by the city of Herod the Great, the three massive and lofty towers erected by him and purposely spared by Titus from destruction remained as landmarks, by reference to which obliterated sites might be identified, if not with absolute correctness, at any rate with some considerable degree of approximation thereto. Furthermore, it is not likely that the return from Pella was delayed very long after the end of the Jewish War. Homes are homes—even when they lie in ruins. The Church of Jerusalem in those days was mainly a Jewish community, and must have cherished a Jewish love and veneration for the city, even (or indeed, especially) in her desolation. The days of sojourning in the country east of Jordan are not reasonably to be supposed to have been so prolonged that few, if any, of those who returned had seen the city in all her glory.[1]

If the identification of the site of the house of the Lord's Supper was possible, so too must that of the site of the Sepulchre have been. It is not

[1] The siege of Jerusalem came to an end in September, A.D. 70. So far as one can tell, the exiles at Pella might have returned at any time in the course of A.D. 71—i.e. within five years from the time of their flight from the Holy City.

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the writer's contention that the identification in either instance was geometrically exact. Some allowance for possibility of error must be made. But it need not be a very large one. Landmarks still remained in existence. There were the three great towers mentioned above. The ruins of the Tower Psephinus would form another landmark. The "Great North Road," along which armies and caravans had approached or left the city, coming from or going to Samaria, Damascus, and Antioch, must have been kept clear by the Roman authorities for the convenience of the army of observation stationed in the ruined city. Joseph's garden, when the siege was over, no doubt presented a scene of devastation like the garden of Hougomont after the battle of Waterloo, or gardens innumerable in the north of France a few years ago. But the sepulchre-cavern itself would not have been injured. The Romans would not be interested in wrecking it, even if the operation had been an easy one, as it would certainly not have been.

We may conclude, then, that there is no improbability inherent in the supposition that the Christians of Jerusalem, after the return from Pella, were able to identify, with at least a very near approach to complete correctness, the site of Joseph's garden and, with it, that of the Lord's Sepulchre.

It is true that to prove that a thing was possible is not the same as proving that it actually happened. The objection has to be faced—granted that the Christians of Jerusalem, after the devastation of the city by the Romans in A.D. 70, *could* have identified the site of Joseph's garden and the Sepulchre of Christ, *did* they do it? There is indeed in all the extant literature of Christendom down to the time of Origen († A.D. 250) no mention of or allusion to any veneration of holy places.[1] (But the argument from silence is not always decisive.) In this instance it may be countered by the question whether the Christians of the Apostolic and Sub-Apostolic epochs would have been careless even of preserving the remembrance of the place where the Lord suffered death and was buried, and bequeathing it to those who came after them. No doubt there were difficulties to encounter, and the existence of those difficulties may have thrust an element of error into the tradition, but it cannot justly be supposed that no effort was made to surmount them, and it is not probable that the error was very great.

[1] See the article "Holy Places" in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. I. p. 774.

CHAPTER III

ÆLIA CAPITOLINA

THE devastation of Jerusalem by Titus is most probably to be accounted for in the same way as the former devastation by Nebuchadnezzar is accounted for in the letter of "Rehum the chancellor and Shimshai the scribe" to the King of Persia, incorporated in the Book of Ezra. Once more the city had shown itself "a rebellious city, and hurtful unto kings and provinces."[1] Once more seditions had been moved within it, as of old time. For this cause, therefore, it was destroyed. It is unnecessary to suppose that Titus aimed at the destruction of the Jewish religion through the demolition of its principal sanctuary. The Jewish religion was not proscribed. The sacrifices ordained in the Law could indeed no longer be offered, but a multitude of other ordinances could be, and were, observed. Moses and the Prophets continued to be read in the synagogues every Sabbath day. The *didrachmon* hitherto paid by the Chosen People, in the Diaspora as well as in Palestine, to the treasury of Jehovah in Jerusalem was now paid to that of

[1] Ezra iv. 15.

Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome, but the payment was exacted as a war-indemnity, not as a recognition of Jupiter as the one and only God. Jews were not, as Christians were, exposed to the taunt, "Non licet vos esse."

The calamities which befell Jewry in the epoch between the death of Herod the Great and the accession of Antoninus Pius (i.e. between 4 B.C. and A.D. 138) were mainly due to the fanaticism of the Nationalist factions who held that for the Chosen People there was no choice, save that of "world-power or annihilation." Fortunately for all concerned, this fanaticism never gained possession of the whole nation simultaneously. Jewish rebellions were always local. The Jews of Syria and Asia Minor remained quiet, while their compatriots rose against the power of Rome in Judæa in A.D. 66, in Cyprus and Cyrene fifty years later, and again in Judæa in A.D. 132. These uprisings were the work of "zealots," but "zealotry" was not the religion of the whole nation, and so long as that was the case, the Roman Government could afford to continue its recognition of Judaism as a *religio licita*.[1]

[1] The occurrences related by Josephus, *B.J.* VII. iii. 2–3 and v. 2 are noteworthy in this connection. The Syro-Hellenic populace of Antioch clamoured for the expulsion of their Jewish fellow-townsmen, but Titus refused to yield to this demonstration of Anti-Semitism.

The policy followed by the Emperors in dealing with the Jews may be charged with inconsistency, but the Jewish problem was no easier for Gentile powers in those times than it is now. That the Emperors and their vicegerents were not altogether disinclined to grant some relaxation of the restraints imposed upon Jewish nationalism is shown by the fact that, in the course of the sixty years following the destruction of the Temple, Jews as well as Christians were permitted to settle amid the ruins that bestrewed the site of the Holy City. Hadrian—so Epiphanius asserts—found seven synagogues of Jews when he visited Jerusalem in A.D. 130.[1] On the other hand, the same Emperor permitted and ratified, if he did not actually order, the extension of the law against castration to cover the practice of circumcision.[2]

Besides the Jews and Christians whom Hadrian

[1] Epiphanius, *de Ponderibus et Mensuris*, c. 14: Epiphanius also asserts that one of these synagogues still existed in the time of Constantine. From a comparison of the passage referred to with the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, p. 3 f.), in which one synagogue out of a former seven is mentioned as existing in A.D. 333, it is plain that Epiphanius derived his information from the local Christian tradition.

[2] Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, vol. II. pp. 228–229 (E.T.). An edict issued by Antoninus Pius permitted the Jews to circumcise their own offspring, but made circumcision in all other cases a capital offence. This meant that Judaism was thenceforth a *religio licita* only for those who were Jews by race, Ἑβραῖοι ἐξ Ἑβραίων.

found dwelling amid the ruins of Herodian Jerusalem, there must also have been some pagans—and probably more of these than of Jews and Christians taken together. The Tenth Legion occupied a permanent camp (*castra stativa*) on the western hill, and in the vicinity of such a camp there was always a collection of traders of various sorts. Moreover, time-expired men often settled down near the camp in which they had served, though it is not certain that this was the case—at any rate, to a notable degree—with the *castra Legionis Decimæ Fretensis* at Jerusalem.[1]

Hadrian, then, coming to Jerusalem in A.D. 130, found the cantonment of the Tenth Legion on the western hill, with *canabæ*, small dwellings occupied by a civilian population, scattered around and about. It is most probable that he had already decided upon establishing, in the place of the former metropolis of the Jewish nation, a *colonia civium Romanorum*, to be peopled by veterans from the Tenth and other legions stationed in Palestine and Syria, and to be organized, after the manner of all such *coloniæ*, as a miniature Rome. The design

[1] On the subject of the formation of municipalities out of legionary camps and the *canabæ* collected round them, see Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Art. "Castra" (vol. I. p. 369); Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, pp. 207–208; Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, pp. 229–231.

was part and parcel of his general policy of extending Roman municipal institutions through the provinces of the Empire.[1] There is no reason to suppose that it was especially an "Anti-Semitic" measure.[2]

The administration of the law prohibiting castration as a law prohibiting circumcision had already stirred up Jewish fanaticism. To the fire already kindled fresh fuel was added when the Emperor's purpose of founding a Roman colony on the site of Jerusalem became known. The building of a Roman city on that site meant the erection of idol-shrines on holy ground—even on the Mountain of the House of the Lord—and the permanent establishing of pagan abominations in the place which the Lord had chosen to put His Name there.[3] Inflamed by the oratory of Rabbi Akiba, and provided with a "war-lord" in the person of a brigand who assumed the name Bar-Khokeba, "Son of the Star," in token of a claim that in him was to be

[1] Stuart Jones, *The Roman Empire* (Story of the Nations), p. 185.

[2] Vespasian had established a colony of veterans at Emmaus after the war of A.D. 66–70, but without giving them a municipal organization. Hadrian's design followed up and completed Vespasian's measure.

[3] Possibly the Jews hoped that some day the Tenth Legion might be withdrawn from Jerusalem. The presence of the legion inevitably brought pagan rites with it—the eagle-standard, for example, was a sacred symbol.

fulfilled the prophecy of Balaam concerning the Star that should arise out of Jacob,[1] the Jews of Palestine rose in furious rebellion against the Imperial power. At first, the uprising carried all before it. The Roman authorities were unprepared, and the legion cantoned at Jerusalem was quite unequal to dealing effectively with the rebel forces. Jerusalem was abandoned, and the rebels, taking possession of the place, began to rebuild the Temple. Their initial successes, however, augured no more reliably for the ultimate issue of the war than those of their predecessors in the rebellion of A.D. 66. For at least three years, indeed, they maintained a most desperate resistance against the forces despatched to Palestine by Hadrian, and placed under the command of the legate Julius Severus, who had distinguished himself in Britain. Palestine became a scene of prolonged siege-warfare. From the account preserved in the epitome of Dio Cassius' history, it appears that nearly six hundred fortified towns and villages had to be attacked and stormed by the Romans. Bar-Khokeba died while conducting the defence of Jerusalem, but his son continued to lead and direct the rebellion. The last stand was made at Bether, a place identified with Khirbet-el-Yehûd, hard by the village of Bittîr, about eight miles from Jerusalem in a south-

[1] Num. xxiv. 17.

westerly direction. There, in the final massacre, perished Rabbi Akiba, and Rufus the son of Bar-Khokeba. If Dio Cassius is to be believed—and there appears to be no reason why he should not be believed—five hundred and eighty thousand persons were slain in the sieges and captures of the rebel strongholds. It was a war in which neither side had any thought of showing mercy.[1]

The new city of Hadrian's design was now laid out and built up. Like other Roman municipal creations, it had its Capitol and Forum, for it was Rome in miniature. The Capitol of Rome was the "head" or "high place" of the city, not only because it was a hill, but also—and mainly—because the Temple of Jupiter, "Optimus Maximus," stood upon it. The eastern hill of Jerusalem is lower than the western, but upon it had stood the national temple of Jewry. Naturally and inevitably, it became the Capitoline Mount of Hadrian's city, so constituted by the building of a temple dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus upon the very ground which had once been occupied by the inner courts, the Holy Place, and the Holy of Holies dedicated to Iahve Sebaoth. The site of the Forum can only be conjectured; it probably lay either on the ground

[1] See Williams, *H.C.* I. pp. 205–209; Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, II. pp. 224–225 (E.T.). Williams, *H.C.* I. pp. 209–213 gives an interesting account of his identification of the site of Bether in April, 1843.

between the existing Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Khan-ez-Zeit (i.e. the Oil-Market, which is part of the Tarik Bab-el-Amud), or between the German Church of the Saviour, to the south-east of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and David Street. The pilgrim Etheria, who visited Jerusalem about A.D. 385, describes the return of the Whit-Sunday procession from the Mount of Olives as follows. "Then they come down, singing hymns; the people, one and all, with the bishop chanting hymns or antiphons befitting the day, and thus they come slowly to the Martyrium.[1] By the time they arrive at the gate of the city [2] it is already night, and torches to the number of quite two hundred are brought out to light the people. As it is some distance from the gate to the great church, i.e. the Martyrium, the progress thither occupies the time until perhaps the second hour of the night, for it is made slowly, in order not to weary the people. The great doors in that side of the Martyrium which adjoins the market-street being opened, the whole congregation, singing hymns, enters with the bishop." [3] The side of the "great church" or "Martyrium" in which

[1] I.e. the basilica built by Constantine near the site of the Holy Sepulchre. See p. 120.

[2] I.e. the gate (or one of the gates) in the east wall of the city.

[3] *Etheriæ Peregrinatio*, c. 43. See Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, p. 95 (Geyer calls the document "Silviæ Peregrinatio"), or Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 576 (E.T.).

are the great doors is called "quintana pars" in Etheria's narrative. Now in the Roman camp described by the third-century author Hyginus, the street running across the camp behind the *prætorium* (headquarters) was called *Via Quintana*, and the grammarian Festus, whose "floruit" is assigned to the Antonine epoch, explains *Quintana* as "porta in castris post prætorium, ubi rerum utensilium forum sit." [1] The plan of a camp would naturally be reproduced to some extent in that of a town laid out for a settlement of *veterani*: hence we may suppose that the *Via Quintana* implied in Etheria's narrative ran near a *prætorium*. Again, in the camp described by Hyginus there was an open space called *forum* in front of the *prætorium*, with a *tribunale* on one side and an *augurale* (place for taking auspices) on the other. The *Via Quintana* of Hadrian's city may be identified with the colonnaded street represented in the Madeba Mosaic as running right across it from north to south, and immediately to the east of Constantine's basilica and the circular building in which the Holy Sepulchre was enclosed.[2] The *prætorium* and *forum* would

[1] Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *quintanus*. Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, vol. I. pp. 376, 379.

[2] See reproductions in Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church*, p. 307, and Dowling, *Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem*, p. 143. The Madeba Mosaic is assigned to the time of Justinian, who reigned A.D. 527–565. The long colonnaded street was a detail

naturally be constructed in a fairly central position, and such a position would be found in the vicinity of the sites now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the German Church of the Saviour, and the German Consulate.[1] The *Via Quintana* may have run between the *prætorium* and the *forum*, having the former on the east and the latter on the west.[2]

In Rome itself, the Forum of Julius enclosed a temple of Venus Genetrix, and not far from the Forum Romanum (the original Forum) Hadrian had built a great temple dedicated to Venus and Rome. In Ælia Capitolina, as his city built on the site of Jerusalem was named, there was a temple of Venus on the site now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[3] The relation of Hadrian's temple of Venus and Rome to the Forum Romanum

adopted from the design of Greek cities founded in Syria, Palestine and Egypt by Alexander and his successors. See the descriptions of Antioch and Alexandria in Smith, *Dict. of Ancient Geography*, vol. I., or Holm, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. IV. ch. xiv. and xx. Plan of Antioch in Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*.

[1] See the plan of Jerusalem in G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. I. (pocket at end).

[2] The architect or engineer who planned Hadrian's city might reasonably be allowed some liberty in arranging the *Via Quintana*, *Prætorium* and *Forum*.

[3] The existing church occupies the site of the buildings erected by Constantine in the nine years 326–335 C.E. Those buildings were erected upon the site previously occupied by the Venus-temple: Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, III. 25–28. See pp. 71–72 below.

suggests a similar relation between the temple of Venus and the forum in Ælia Capitolina. Part, if not the whole, of this temple was built upon an artificial mound. This arrangement was doubtless resorted to in order to give greater dignity to the outward aspect of the temple.[1]

Besides these buildings, the new city contained two public baths and a theatre. There was also a basilica terminating in three apses, and a great public fountain called the Tetranymphon. A structure known as the Dodecapylon was probably a hippodrome; this would best be placed outside the walls—perhaps in the western valley. The city was divided into "wards" (*vici*, *ἄμφοδα*), each under the authority of a "ward-master" (*vico-magister*, *ἀμφοδάρχης*).[2]

The plan of Jerusalem contained in the Madeba Mosaic, which dates from about A.D. 550, shows a large semicircular open place lying immediately within the northern gate of the city, and in this open place a lofty column.[3] It is quite uncertain whether this "void place in the entrance of the

[1] The temples of *Divus Iulius* and *Roma Æterna et Venus Felix* in Rome were built upon great *podia* of concrete. See Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Art. "Templum" (vol. II. pp. 791, 792).

[2] *Chronicon Paschale*, ad ann. III. Imp. Ælii Hadriani.

[3] See Dowling, *Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem*, p. 143; Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church*, p. 307.

gate" was part of the original plan of the city or not. If it was, we may suppose that it was a forum.[1] It would not, however, necessarily be *the* forum, where the seats of judgment were. An open place just within one of the gates might be the usual place of judgment in Samaria when it was the chief city of Israel, and "the Pavement" with the "judgment-seat," where Pilate delivered Jesus to be crucified, was near the northern wall of the "Upper City" of that day.[2] But when Samaria became Sebaste,[3] the agora must have been set more or less in the middle of the city, according to the Greek usage, while Jerusalem "under Pontius Pilate" was not yet a Roman city, and the Roman governor's Prætorium was the palace formerly occupied by Herod and his son Archelaus. When Ælia Capitolina, which was a Roman city, was built, the Forum where "the seats of judgment" were, would naturally be assigned to a central position, Roman practice in this matter being at one with that of the Greeks. If, then, the semicircular open place shown in the Madeba Mosaic was part of the original plan of Ælia, it must have

[1] As it is semicircular (or nearly so) it cannot very well be identified with the κόδρα mentioned in the *Paschal Chronicle* (l.c.), even if κόδρα could be taken in the sense of a quadrant.

[2] 1 Kings xxii. 10; John xix. 13, 16. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. II. p. 573 f.

[3] Jos. *B. J.* I. xxi. 2, *Ant.* XV. ix. 12.

been a secondary, purely commercial forum. Turning now to the other alternative, viz. that the open place just within the northern gate was added to, or rather inserted in, the lay-out of the city after Hadrian's day—it is possible that Constantine encroached upon the forum of Ælia when he built a "house of prayer" over the Holy Tomb, and a great basilica to the east thereof, that to compensate the municipality for this disturbance he caused a new forum to be paved and built, and that this new forum is the open place by the northern gate in the Madeba Mosaic.[1]

The origin of the column in this open place is equally uncertain. Even if this open place was included, as a secondary forum,[2] in the original plan of Ælia, it does not follow that the column also dates from the first days of Hadrian's city, though Hadrian might very well have had it in mind to reproduce here, on a small scale, the Forum of Trajan with its celebrated column. If the column is not to be regarded as a monument of Hadrian, it will best be thought of as a monument of Con-

[1] The outline of the ground-plan of this piazza, in the Madeba Mosaic, recalls the curving porticoes of the Forum of Constantine in the New Rome. See W. G. Holmes, *The Age of Justinian and Theodora*, vol. I. p. 69. The ground by the north gate might have been, at the time, the most convenient site for a new forum.

[2] Like the Forum Boarium and the Forum Holitorium in Republican Rome.

stantine.[1] In any case, it may justly be identified with the column seen about A.D. 670 by the pilgrim Arculf, and described by him to Abbot Adamnan of Iona.[2]

There is no detailed account of the walls of Hadrian's city, but it appears that their circuit was smaller than that of the walls described by Josephus and demolished by Titus. The walls of Herodian Jerusalem had enclosed the whole of the western hill, the hill of the "Upper City" or "Upper Market."[3] From statements made by Eusebius of Cæsarea, the "Bordeaux Pilgrim," and Cyril of Jerusalem, it is to be inferred that in their day—i.e. in the former half of the fourth century C.E.—a considerable portion of that hill was laid out in cornfields and cucumber-gardens.[4] Unoccupied

[1] Porphyry column in the Forum of Constantine at Constantinople: Holmes, op. cit. l.c.; columns also in the Fora of Theodosius and Arcadius; ib. op. cit. pp. 72, 78.

[2] Geyer, *Itin. Hierosol.* pp. 239, 307; *Bædæ Hist. Angl.* V. 16–17; Wright, *Early Travels*, p. 3. Arculf (or, more probably, Adamnan) places the column to the *north* of the holy places (i.e. the Holy Sepulchre, etc.), but in the *midst* of the *city*. The main north gate, however, is about midway along the north front thereof.

[3] See Josephus, *B.J.* V. iv. 2, and G. A. Smith, op. cit., vol. II. map viii.

[4] Eusebius, *Dem. Evang.* VI. 13 and VIII. 15 ("we have seen with our own eyes Sion sown and ploughed by Romans"—fulfilment of Micah iii. 12—"and Jerusalem in desolation, like a shed in a garden"—fulfilment of Isa. i. 8). *Itinerarium Burdigalense* in Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, p. 22: et septem

spaces within the walls of a city might of course be utilized in this manner,[1] but the "Bordeaux Pilgrim" speaks of passing *outside* the walls on the way from the Temple Precinct to "Sion," i.e. the western hill.[2] In Herodian Jerusalem, this would have been a very inconvenient route to take.[3] The Pool of Siloam, lying south of the Temple, and enclosed *within* the Herodian city, lay outside the circuit of Ælia Capitolina until A.D. 438–439, when it was taken within the line of a new wall added by the Empress Eudocia to the existing defences.[4]

Eudocia's wall was probably built for the definite purpose of protecting holy monuments. The monuments to be protected were (1) the Pool of Siloam, (2) the Church of Sion, and (3) the remains of the house of Caiaphas. The second of these, the Church

synagogæ, quæ illic fuerunt, una tantum remansit: reliquæ autem arantur et seminantur, sicut Isaias propheta dixit" (he should have said "Michæas"). Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. xvi. c. 18; to the same effect as Eusebius, l.c. (quoting Micah iii. 12 and Isa. i. 8; assigning both *logia* to Isaiah)—σικυηλάτων νῦν ὁ τόπος (δηλ. ἡ Σιὼν) πεπλήρωται.

[1] As in Constantinople, in the last years of the Christian Empire.

[2] *Itin. Burdig.* in Geyer, l.c.: Item *exeuntibus* Hierusalem, ut ascendas Sion.

[3] It would have necessitated going right down to the foot of the eastern hill, and then ascending the whole height of the western.

[4] Williams, *H.C.* I. Suppl. p. 45, referring to Evagrius, *H.E.* I. 22, and Antoninus of Placentia, *c.* 25 (both late sixth-century writers).

of Sion, was piously believed and proclaimed, even as early as the fourth century, to be the very building in which the institution of the Lord's Supper and the Descent of the Holy Ghost had taken place. The record of the Bordeaux Pilgrim implies that it stood *without* the walls in A.D. 333. Its site may be safely identified with that of the building called by the Moslem inhabitants of the modern city "Nebi Daoud" ("the Prophet David") in the belief that in or under it is the Tomb of David, for it is in that building that the original "Cœnaculum" or "Upper Room" of the story of the Passion and Resurrection is pointed out by those who accept a tradition dating back for many centuries.[1] In A.D. 614, Ælia was captured, plundered, and devastated by the Persians. Eudocia's wall was destroyed and not rebuilt. Since that epoch, the site of the Church of Sion has been *without* the walls, though it is related that Sultan Suleiman "the Magnificent" intended that they should be so restored as to include it.[2]

The southern front of Hadrian's city, drawn across, instead of around, Ophel and the Sion hill, was—especially on Sion—much more exposed to the possibility of a successful assault than that of the city besieged and captured by Titus. It must

[1] See ref. in notes on p. 39: also Williams, *H.C.* I. Suppl. p. 64; Watson, *Jerusalem*, pp. 240–242, 246–247, 255 f.

[2] Williams, *H.C.* I. Suppl. pp. 39–40. Above, pp. 27–28.

be supposed that the population which Hadrian intended to settle in his city was not numerous enough to occupy the whole extent of ground covered by Herodian Jerusalem, and that the levels in the northern part of that area were considerably more convenient for laying out and building up a city than those in the southern part. Furthermore, Ælia Capitolina was not planned as a great *place d'armes*. Bostra, in the Peræa, east of Jordan, was the head of the defences of Palestine.[1]

The course of the walls on the eastern and western fronts was naturally determined by the valleys of the Kedron and Hinnom. On the north front, the defences of Ælia are best supposed to have followed the lines of the wall begun by Herod Agrippa between A.D. 41 and A.D. 44, incompletely built up in A.D. 66, and demolished in A.D. 70—the lines followed in the restoration of the northern walls of the city under Sultan Suleiman "the Magnificent" in A.D. 1541–1542.[2]

If the rebellion stirred up by R. Akiba and led by Bar-Khokeba was not suppressed until A.D. 135, and the new city was completely built and inhabited by the end of Hadrian's principate, the work must have been finished in less than three

[1] Bourchier, *Syria as a Roman Province*, pp. 44, 45, 47.

[2] G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. I. p. 247; Williams, *H.C.* I. Suppl. pp. 45–48; above, p. 28, n. 3.

years, for Hadrian died on July 10, A.D. 138.[1] Anything that had been done before A.D. 132 (the year of the outbreak of the rebellion) would have to be done all over again. But Roman organization was no doubt equal to the task. Constantine's New Rome, not so vast indeed in extent as it became under his successors, but still very much larger than Ælia Capitolina, was inaugurated at the end of rather less than four years after the "turning of the first sod,"[2] and that although the builders of the New Rome had not, what those of Ælia Capitolina had in abundant measure, masses of building material ready to hand in the ruins of a former city.[3]

The name bestowed by Hadrian upon his new city has already been mentioned more than once. It was compounded of his own *nomen gentile* and

[1] Stuart Jones, *The Roman Empire*, p. 195.

[2] Holmes, op. cit. pp. 17–18; Stuart Jones, op. cit. pp. 389–90.

[3] From Eusebius, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, VIII. 2 we learn (1) that even in Eusebius' day the ruins of Herodian Jerusalem —sc. those which strewed the south slopes of the two hills—served as a quarry for the people of Ælia, and (2) that stones recognizable as spoils of the Jewish Temple were to be seen built into heathen temples and theatres. The implication of *V. Imp. Constantini*, III. 33 is that the eastern hill, over against which rose Constantine's basilica of the Martyrion, was still in Eusebius' day largely bestrewn with *débris*. The precinct of the sanctuary of Jupiter Capitolinus, then, must have been considerably less extended than that of the Temple of the Lord of Hosts. But while the top of the hill might be still bestrewn with fallen stonework, the sides might be enclosed within perfectly sound walls.

the title given to Jupiter, the great god of the Roman People, from his habitation upon the hill which had been destined to become *caput mundi*. Ælia Capitolina was thenceforth the official Roman name of the city, and remained in use even after the alliance of the Church with the Empire had, so to speak, given the name Jerusalem a new lease of life.[1]

Eusebius, citing Aristo of Pella as his authority, asserts that Hadrian, by special ordinances, prohibited the Jews from entering Ælia Capitolina, or even coming within sight of the city.[2] On the other hand, his contemporary, the Bordeaux Pilgrim, visiting Ælia in A.D. 333, saw, not far from the two statues of Hadrian which stood in front of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the eastern hill, a "pierced stone" (*lapis pertusus*), to which the Jews came every year to anoint it, while they made lamentation and rent their garments. He also saw on the western hill a synagogue, and was told that in former times there had been seven synagogues

[1] Eusebius uses Αἰλία even in ecclesiastical connections in his *H.E.* IV. 6 and *Martyr-Palest.* 11. The name also appears in an ecclesiastical document quoted verbatim in *H.E.* VII. 5. *Ælia*, in fact (not the full form Ælia Capitolina), seems to have become well established in use among Christians. The second part of the official name was no doubt omitted by them on account of its distinctively pagan associations.

Jerusalem is named *Ælia* in the text of the treaty made by Sophronius with Omar in A.D. 637, and in the text of Arculf's pilgrim-narrative.

[2] Eus. *H.E.* IV. 6.

in that quarter.[1] Epiphanius, repeating the same local tradition, states that of seven synagogues existing upon Sion, the western hill, at the time of Hadrian's visit to the site of Jerusalem, one continued afterwards in existence down to the time of the bishop Maximus.[2] This Maximus was bishop of Ælia A.D. 335–351.[3] There would not be much point in the observations of the Bordeaux Pilgrim and Epiphanius respecting the synagogue on Sion if it had not been in use as a Jewish house of prayer. Christian zeal doubtless destroyed the synagogue,[4] and it is to be suspected that the conditions of existence were harder for the Jews in Christian than in pagan Ælia. From all that is known of the effect of Roman edicts ordering the departure of Jews from Rome, it is not at all unsafe to infer that within a few years of the building and inauguration of Ælia Capitolina Hadrian's ordinances ceased to be enforced.[5]

[1] Geyer, *Itin. Hieros.* p. 22 ; cf. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 232–233.

[2] Epiph. *de Pond. et Mens.* 14. Above, p. 45, n. 1 ; p. 56, n. 4.

[3] As the Bordeaux Pilgrim saw the synagogue in A.D. 333, the Maximus mentioned by Epiphanius must be the third bishop of that name, who occupied the seat of S. James from A.D. 335 to 351.

[4] Very possibly at the time of the dedication of Constantine's Martyrion and Church of the Resurrection, which took place on Sept. 14, A.D. 335 (Geyer, op. cit. pp. 100 and 149).

[5] See, for example, Acts xviii. 2 (cf. Sueton. *Claudius*, 25) compared with xxviii. 17 f. and Rom. xvi. 3 ; and Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, vol. I. ch. ii.

Hadrian's ordinances excluding Jews from Ælia Capitolina were the cause of a notable event in the history of the local Christian community. Hitherto, that community had always consisted of Jewish as well as of Gentile believers, and the presidents had always been elected from among the former group. The magistrates of Ælia, to whom was committed the execution of the Imperial edicts, made no distinction between Jews who accepted Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah, and Jews who rejected Him. One event, one exodus, awaited all who were "Hebrews of Hebrews." The presidency of the Church of Jerusalem was vacant at the time, and in consequence of the enforcement of the exclusion-laws none were left in the society, save believers of Gentile origin, to elect or to be elected to the office. For the first time a Gentile was elected, and thenceforth no Jewish Christian—at any rate, no one known to be such—occupied the bishopric.[1]

It is quite possible that Hadrian's ordinances, or the local magistrates by their interpretation of them, averted a schism in the Christian body in Ælia. The Gentiles could not have been expected to acquiesce much longer in the reservation of the seat of S. James for men of Jewish blood. On the other hand, the brethren who were "of the circumcision" would not have renounced their privilege

[1] Eusebius, *H.E.* IV. 6.

without a struggle. Thus Hadrian, without intending it, may have taken security for the peace of the Church in Ælia-Jerusalem.

There is no evidence to show that Hadrian permitted, or connived at, the settlement of Christians in Ælia because he had a special favour unto them. At the same time, there is no evidence to show that he was especially hostile towards them. About eight years before the outbreak of Bar-Khokeba's rebellion, he had instructed Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, by rescript to take no action against Christians unless it should be duly proved, in the course of regular legal proceeding, that they were guilty of acts or practices forbidden by the law. No attention was to be paid either to secret informing or to public clamours. Accusers who failed to prove their charges were to be punished.[1] This was not indeed the same thing as declaring Christianity to be a *religio licita*. The individual magistrate might take the view that the simple avowal of Christianity was a confession of guilt—of having committed unlawful acts—and he might quote precedents for taking this view and for acting upon it. At the same time, the rescript shows that Hadrian was not disposed to persecute the Christians.[2]

[1] Eus. *H.E.* IV. 9.
[2] Ramsay, *Church in the Empire*, ch. xiv.

The Church-fathers maintain the opinion that Hadrian caused a temple of Venus to be built in order that the place of the Lord's Sepulchre might be put out of all remembrance and that the truth of the Gospel might the more effectually be called in question.[1] The Faith was to be "buried with Christ," never to rise again. This account of the selection of the site occupied by the temple of Venus is entirely unsatisfactory. Hadrian, as we have seen, was not disposed to take rigorous measures against the Christians. Furthermore, he could not have hoped that merely by concealing the tomb of Christ—or what was believed to be that tomb—he would secure the extinction of Christianity. The destruction of the Jewish Temple had not extinguished Judaism. To erect a temple over the tomb of Christ would be—as Hadrian himself must have perceived, and as actually was proved to be the case—to advertise, not to obscure, the fact of its existence. When Constantine gave orders for the uncovering of the Lord's Sepulchre, both he and those to whom the orders were sent knew the exact place in which the operation was to be carried out. The demolition of the temple of Venus and its *podium* or emplacement was expressly commanded by the Emperor.[2] No time was expended in the

[1] Eusebius, *V.C.* III. 26; Sozomen, *H.E.* II. 1.
[2] Eusebius, *V.C.* III. 26.

exploration of other sites. The tradition of the local Church, assisted continuously by the provision of a landmark in the form of one of the most conspicuous buildings in Ælia Capitolina, had preserved the remembrance of the site of the Holy Tomb.

It is quite possible, however, that though the Christians of Ælia knew where the operation of uncovering the Lord's Sepulchre was to be carried out, they made a mistake in the identification of that Sepulchre. The *podium* of the Venus-temple covered more than one burial-place. With the remembrance of the *site* of the Lord's Sepulchre, would that of its exact *form* and *dimensions* have been preserved? When the removal of the *podium* had uncovered more than one burial-place hewn in the rock, how was that which formerly had been known as the Lord's Sepulchre distinguished from the others? A hundred and twenty years at least must have passed since the death of the last Christian who had actually seen that tomb. Unless drawings or carefully-written descriptions had been made, and committed for safe keeping to the authorities of the Church, and had escaped the ravages of Christian property which accompanied the great persecutions under Decius, Valerian, and Diocletian, the memory of the *site* alone might not have served to certify beyond all doubt the identification of this one tomb, among several others, after it had

lain hidden for nearly two centuries (A.D. 138–326).

Did Hadrian foresee this? Could he have foreseen it? Would he have thought it worth while to take any special measures to obtain a result, from his point of view, so scanty and unsatisfactory?

Assuming that Hadrian was aware that a certain site included within the circuit of his new city was holy and venerable in the eyes of the Christians, he may have selected that site for the purpose of building a Venus-temple because the plan of his new foundation required it, and he was loftily indifferent to Christian "superstitions," or because he had in mind a design by means of which he hoped that a *modus vivendi* might be found for Christianity and a solution for the problem set by its existence.

Christianity might easily be mistaken for a peculiar development of the worship of Adonis, which was one of the principal religions of Syria. The annual commemoration of the Passion and Death of Christ took place nearly, if not exactly, at the same time as the Jewish observation of Pascha and Azyma and the pagan mourning for the death of Adonis, and the Azyma, no less than the mourning for Adonis, was in its origin a harvest-rite.[1] The veterans who were to settle in Ælia

[1] Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris* (1906)—Bk. I. ch. viii. Bourchier, *Syria as a Roman Province*, ch. xi. Exod. xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 18, Deut. xvi. 9. The solemnity was observed in the

Capitolina, whatever their racial origins, must have become more or less Syrianized, and have made acquaintance, generally of an intimate kind, with the worship of Adonis. For Roman citizens, as these men were,[1] Venus Genetrix, mother of Æneas, ancestress of Romulus and of the Cæsars, was a proper and even necessary object of worship; but their Romanism would be as the mingling of Orontes with Tiber, and they would most readily recognize Venus Genetrix if she were presented in the guise of Astarte. This presentation might easily be made. Lucretius' portrayal of Venus was strongly influenced by the Asiatic conception of a goddess who is a universal "Genetrix" and this was, at any rate, one aspect of the Syrian Astarte.[2] It is significant that the representation of the temple and statue of Venus on the coins of Ælia Capitolina strongly resembles those of the temple and statue of Astarte on the coins of Berytus—a *colonia civium Romanorum* in Syria—and to some degree also those which appear on coins of Byblus, the chief centre of Syrian Adonis-worship.[3] Let it be regarded then as at least possible that the *Adonia*

month of Abib, which means "ripe ears," and sanctified the beginning of the barley-harvest.

[1] Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, vol. I. p. 806.

[2] Lucretius, *Rer. Nat.* I. 1–21.

[3] Photo-plate in Bourchier, *Syria as a Roman Province*; Head, *Hist. Num.*

(the rites of Adonis) were to be celebrated in the Venus-temple at Ælia, as they are known to have been celebrated in the cavern at Bethlehem, which as far back as the fourth century was already identified with the very scene of the Divine Nativity.[1] The sepulchre-caverns over which the Venus-temple was built would symbolize the underworld to which Adonis departed in death, and from which he rose again " in newness of life." Access to these caverns could be provided by flights of steps leading down from the court of the temple on the top of the mound or *podium* exalting it above the surrounding structures. If the Christians would accept an identification of Christ with Adonis, they would be welcome to the temple, and free to enter the sepulchral shrines beneath it. If not, then they could be excluded. The Christians neither would nor could identify Christ with Adonis, though they invoked their Founder as " Adonai " in prayer and psalm. Special measures to exclude them from approaching and entering the Lord's Sepulchre

[1] Frazer, op. cit. p. 157; Bourchier, op. cit. p. 266; the original authority is S. Jerome (Ep. xiii.), who was in a position to know. Origen in his treatise *Contra Celsum*, I. 51 (p. 367) states that in his time—a century and a half before Jerome's day—a cave was pointed out in Bethlehem, by Christians and Pagans alike, as the place where Christ was born, and in the cave a manger, identified with the manger mentioned in the Gospel-story. But he does not speak of celebration of the rites of Adonis in the cave.

were not necessary. So long as the precinct of an idol-temple lay between them and the Sepulchre, they held themselves to be by that circumstance alone absolutely excluded even from the place where Jesus had been revealed as the Son of God "with power, by resurrection from the dead."[1]

[1] In like manner, the Christians would hold themselves to be excluded from entering the cave at Bethlehem until it had ceased —as it did cease under Constantine—to be a pagan sanctuary.

CHAPTER IV

THE UNCOVERING OF THE SEPULCHRE

(*Plate D, Figs* 1 *and* 2: *Plate E, Fig.* 11.)

EUSEBIUS, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, a contemporary of Constantine the Great, is *facile princeps* among all extant authorities for the history of the uncovering of the rock-tomb identified in his day as the tomb in which Joseph and Nicodemus had laid the Lord's body.[1]

It seemed good to the Emperor, so Eusebius testifies, to bring to light and commend to universal veneration the most blessed place of the Saviour's Resurrection, and to build there a house of prayer. This thought came to him by Divine operation, soon after the labours of the Œcumenical Council convened at Nicæa had come to a close.[2]

Moved by the Spirit of God to displeasure over the desecration of the Lord's Sepulchre, and calling

[1] The *Life of the Emperor Constantine*, in which the history of the event is contained, was composed after the Emperor's death in A.D. 337, but not later than A.D. 340 at furthest, for in that year Eusebius departed this life (Socrates, *H.E.* II. 4, cf. 5, with notes in Migne's ed.).

[2] Euseb. *Vita Imperatoris Constantini*, lib. III. c. 25.

upon God to be his helper, the Emperor gave orders for the demolition of the Venus-temple, built upon a great mound, which had been set up over the sacred place. The materials of the temple and the soil of its supporting mound were carefully removed without the city and cast forth. At last the original ground was uncovered, and in it "the august and all-holy memorial[1] of the Saviour's Resurrection was once more brought to light." Eusebius says that this recovery of the Sepulchre was altogether unhoped for. It is difficult to see why.[2]

The Sepulchre so uncovered was a cavern.[3] The Gospels describe the Lord's Sepulchre as a sepulchre hewn in rock, entered through a low doorway.[4]

To return to Eusebius' narrative. Constantine, on receiving the news that the Venus-temple in Ælia Capitolina had been demolished, and the site

[1] C. 28, *μαρτύριον*.

[2] See cap. III. page 65, above. Eusebius himself does not accuse the pagans of having *destroyed*, or attempted to destroy, the Sepulchre, but only of having covered it up. However, he insists upon attributing a miraculous character to the affair: see *V.C.* III. cc. 28, 30.

[3] C. 26. *τὸ θεῖον ἄντρον*, c. 28. *τὸ ἅγιον ἄντρον*, c. 29. *τὸ σωτήριον ἄντρον*, c. 33. *τὸ ἱερὸν ἄντρον*, c. 34. *τὸ σεμνὸν ἄντρον*. Cf. *Theophania*, p. 199; see also Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 78–79.

[4] Matt. xxvii. 60, Mark xv. 46, Luke xxiii. 54, John xix. 41, and xx. 5 (*παρακύψας*). The traditional Sepulchre has a very low doorway.

of the Holy Sepulchre thoroughly cleared, wrote to Macarius, the bishop of Ælia, expressing wonder and delight over the discovery of the Sepulchre as a surpassing miracle, and declaring that of all his cares the chiefest was that the place "consecrated from the beginning by the judgment of God" should be adorned with beauty of building. Instructions had been given to the Imperial vicegerent and the deputy of the province to provide everything required for the construction and adornment of a basilica and other buildings therewith associated. The Emperor desired to erect buildings which would surpass in glory and beauty all that were severally the pride of the cities of the Empire. Macarius was directed to let the Imperial authorities know how many workmen and how much money would be required, and to inform the Emperor himself of what would be fitting in the way of columns and marble, and whether it would be best to give the basilica a coffered ceiling.[1]

Eusebius then proceeds to the description of Constantine's buildings, to which he gives the collective name of "the New Jerusalem" on account of their magnificence, in which he ventures to think that the oracles of the Prophets were fulfilled. Both in appearance and site, the "New Jerusalem" of Constantine is set by Eusebius "over against"

[1] *V.C.* III. cc. 29–32.

the Old, which for the sin of murdering her Lord had been brought into uttermost desolation.[1] This contrast is somewhat perplexing, for Eusebius' words imply the utter desolation of the Old Jerusalem as a fact then present. There is no evidence to show that Ælia Capitolina had fallen into desolation, though, as we have seen, the city of Hadrian covered a smaller area than the Herodian, and ruins of the Herodian epoch must still have been left on the ground not included within the circuit of Ælia.[2] What are we to understand by Eusebius' phrase "in the face of"? The natural supposition is that it is the opposition of west to east, for Constantine's buildings were placed upon or grouped about an axis running in that direction. The temple Mount lies east of the site of the Holy Sepulchre. Its summit was then (A.D. 326) occupied by Hadrian's temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The precinct of that temple may not have been so extensive as that of the Temple of Jehovah, and ruins may still have bestrewn the unoccupied ground. There is no reason to suppose that the

[1] *V.C.* III. 33. *κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον ἡ νέα κατεσκευάζετο Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἀντιπρόσωπος τῇ πάλαι βωμένῃ, ἣ μετὰ τὴν κυριοκτόνον μιαφονίαν ἐρημίας ἐπ' ἔσχατα τραπεῖσα δίκην ἔτισε δυσσεβῶν οἰκητόρων.*

[2] The Bordeaux Pilgrim mentions ruins *within* the city, which were said to be the ruins of Pilate's Prætorium. But these ruins may have been the remains left by the conflagration of some not very ancient house which had not been rebuilt.

temple itself had fallen into ruins. The Bordeaux Pilgrim speaks of it as still standing, and says nothing to imply that it was ruinous or even dilapidated.[1] Probably, however, Eusebius was writing with an eye to rhetorical effect, an eye which is inclined to disregard history. What he is concerned with is the contrast between the new glory of Constantine's buildings upon and around the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and the miserable devastation to which, of old, the Temple of Jehovah and the City of David had been brought. Ælia Capitolina does not come into the "field of vision."

The description of Constantine's buildings in detail, for which Eusebius' narrative in his Life of the Emperor Constantine is the principal, but not the only source, is reserved for another chapter. Here let it be noticed that Eusebius makes no mention of Golgotha, nor of any discovery, real or alleged, of the Lord's Cross.

[1] *Itin. Burdigal.* (in Geyer, *Itin. Hierosol.*) : Et in æde ipsa ubi templum fuit, quem Salomon ædificavit, in marmore ante aram sanguinem Zachariæ ibi dicas hodie fusum. . . . Sunt ibi et statuæ duæ Adriani. . . . There can be no doubt that by the time of the Saracen Conquest (A.D. 637) the eastern hill was a scene of dilapidation and ruin. After the demolition of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the Christians gave little or no attention to the site it had occupied. But at the time when the Sepulchre was uncovered the temple of Jupiter on the eastern hill was still standing, and the old paganism had not yet been formally repudiated by the Imperial power.

Golgotha is mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who visited the Holy Places in A.D. 333. "On the way from Sion to the[1] Porta Neapolitana," he says, "down in the valley[2] to the right hand there are ruins, where the house or Prætorium of Pilate stood. There the Lord was heard before he suffered. To the left is the little hill of Golgotha[3] where the Lord was crucified. About a stone's throw from thence is an underground chamber,[4] where his body was laid and on the third day rose again. In that same place a *basilica*, that is to say a church of marvellous beauty has now been erected by command of the Emperor Constantine."[5] The Pilgrim makes no mention of the discovery of the Cross.

Cyril of Jerusalem, in the *Catecheses* delivered about twenty years after the uncovering of the Sepulchre, makes repeated mention of both Golgotha and the Sepulchre. He uses the term Golgotha in an extended as well as in a particular

[1] *Porta Neapolitana*—i.e. the gate opening upon the road to Neapolis (Shechem). The *Porta Galilæa* and *Porta Sancti Stephani* of later narratives. Now represented by the "Damascus Gate."

[2] The hollow between the western and the eastern hill.

[3] *Monticulus Golgotha.*

[4] *Cripta.* Golgotha and Joseph's garden lay near each other: John xix. 41.

[5] "Ibidem modo iussu Constantini Imperatoris basilica facta est, id est Dominicum miræ pulchritudinis."

sense. In the *latter*, it denotes a rock rising to some height, and showing a fissure, which is mentioned as one among many proofs of the truth of the Gospel narratives.[1] In the *former*, it denotes the site in which the rock, and the immediately adjoining basilica of Constantine, called the Martyrion, were included.[2] With regard to the Sepulchre, Cyril makes the incredible assertion that traces of the garden in which it was originally closed were still to be seen.[3] The front part of the Sepulchre, he says, was cut away when Constantine adorned the rock.[4] The stone which had closed its entrance

[1] Catech. x. 19. ὁ Γολγοθᾶς ὁ ἅγιος οὗτος ὁ ὑπερανεστηκὼς μαρτυρεῖ φαινόμενος, xiii. 39. ὁ Γολγοθᾶς οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ὑπερανεστὼς καὶ μέχρι σήμερον φαινόμενος, καὶ δεικνύων μέχρι νῦν ὅπως διὰ Χριστὸν αἱ πέτραι τότε ἐρράγησαν, xiii. 4. κἂν γὰρ ἀρνήσωμαι νῦν, ἐλέγχει με οὗτος ὁ Γολγοθᾶς, οὗ πλησίον πάντες πάρεσμεν, xiii. 26. ἐξεπέτασεν ἐν σταυρῷ τὰς χεῖρας, ἵνα περιλάβῃ τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ πέρατα· τῆς γὰρ γῆς τὸ μεσαίτατον ὁ Γολγοθᾶς οὗτός ἐστιν. οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος· προφήτης ἐστὶν ὁ φήσας εἰργάσω σωτηρίαν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς.' [Ps. lxxiii. 12, LXX.]

[2] Cat. iv. 10. ὁ τόπος ἐλέγχει σε φαινόμενος, ἐν ᾧ νῦν διὰ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ σταυρωθέντα συγκεκροτήμεθα, cf. 14. Cat. xvi. 4. καὶ πρεπωδέστατον μὲν ἀληθῶς ἦν, ὥσπερ τὰ περὶ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ Γολγοθᾶ ἐν τῷ Γολγοθᾷ τούτῳ λέγομεν, οὕτω καὶ περὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν τῇ ἀνωτέρᾳ λέγειν ἐκκλησίᾳ (i.e. the Church of Sion), xiv. 6, why is *this place of Golgotha and the Resurrection* (ὁ τοῦ Γολγοθᾶ καὶ τῆς Ἀναστάσεως οὗτος τόπος) called a *Martyrion* and not in the ordinary manner a *Church*? ἴσως διὰ τὸν προφήτην τὸν εἰπόντα 'εἰς ἡμέραν ἀναστάσεώς, μου εἰς μαρτύριον' (see Zeph. iii. 8. LXX), also Cat. xiii. 26, οἱ καταξιούμενοι ψάλλειν ἐν τῷ Γολγοθᾷ τούτῳ.

[3] Catech. xiv. 5.

[4] Catech. xiv. 9 (quoting *Song of Songs*, ii. 10 and 14). See note 2, p. 78.

was still lying before it.[1] It is interesting to observe that Cyril is at pains to cite and expound a verse from the Song of Solomon to prove that the wall running outside and around the site of the Sepulchre was not the ancient wall of the city, but an outwork of later date.[2]

Besides Golgotha and the Sepulchre, and the stone that once closed the door of the Sepulchre, Cyril mentions the Cross. He does not relate the story of its discovery at length, but he speaks of distribution of small pieces taken from it throughout the world.[3]

In the *Peregrinatio* of Etheria, which dates from about A.D. 385, the term "Golgotha" denotes the ground extending eastwards from the point where

[1] Catech. x. 19. *τὸ μνῆμα τῆς ἁγιότητος μαρτυρεῖ, καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ μέχρι σήμερον κείμενος*, xiii. 39. *τὸ μνῆμα τό πλησίον ὅπου ἐτέθη καὶ ὁ ἐπιτεθεὶς τῇ θύρᾳ λίθος, ὁ μέχρι σήμερον παρὰ τῷ μνημείῳ κείμενος.*

[2] Catech. xiv. 9. *καὶ πόθεν ἐγήγερται ὁ Σωτήρ; λέγει ἐν τοῖς ᾄσμασι τῶν ᾀσμάτων 'ἀνάστα, ἐλθέ, ἡ πλησίον μου' καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς 'ἐν σκέπῃ τῆς πέτρας.' σκέπην τῆς πέτρας εἶπε τὴν τότε πρὸ τῆς θύρας τοῦ σωτηρίου μνήματος οὖσαν σκέπην, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πέτρας, καθὼς συνηθὲς ἐνταῦθα γίνεσθαι πρὸ τῶν μνημάτων, λελαξευμένην. νῦν γὰρ οὐ φαίνεται, ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐξεκολάφθη τὸ προσκέπασμα διὰ τὴν παροῦσαν εὐκοσμίαν. πρὸ γὰρ τῆς βασιλικῆς φιλοτιμίας τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ μνήματος, σκέπη ἦν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς πέτρας. ἀλλὰ ποῦ ἐστιν ἡ πέτρα ἡ ἔχουσα τὴν σκέπην; ἆρα περὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς πόλεως κεῖται, ἢ περὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα; καὶ πότερον ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τείχεσίν ἐστιν, ἢ τοῖς ὕστερον γινομένοις προτειχίσμασι; λέγει τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς ᾄσμασιν 'ἐν σκέπῃ τῆς πέτρας ἐχόμενα τοῦ προτειχίσματος.'* Curious exegesis! Compare Cat. xiv. 5, *θέλεις δὲ γνῶναι καὶ τὸν τόπον; λέγει πάλιν ἐν τοῖς ᾄσμασιν 'εἰς κῆπον καρύας κατέβην' κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Catech. iv. 10, x. 19.

a monumental cross marked—or was believed to mark—the very place in which the cross on which our Lord suffered death had been set up. This ground, occupied in large part by Constantine's basilica (which Etheria distinguishes as "ecclesia major"), is represented as being "post Crucem," while the ground between the monumental cross and the Sepulchre is represented as "ante Crucem." [1]

Etheria mentions the relics identified as "sanctum lignum Crucis," and its "titulus." They were kept in a silver-gilt box and brought forth on every anniversary of the Crucifixion to be touched and kissed by the faithful. Precautions had to be taken against the risk—a very real one—of worshippers whose zeal outran their honesty biting little pieces off the holy wood, and so providing themselves illicitly with wonder-working relics, under pretence of kissing it. [2]

The anniversary of the "encænia" or dedication of Constantine's buildings on and around the site of the Holy Sepulchre was, so Etheria states, [3] also

[1] See Geyer, *Itin. Hierosol.* p. 343, col. 2; Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 491 (E.T.).

[2] *Peregr. Eth.* c. 37, 1–3: Geyer, p. 88; Duchesne, pp. 510–511 and 564–565.

[3] *Peregr. Eth.* c. 48: Geyer, p. 100; compare Theodosius, *de Situ Terræ Sanctæ*, c. 31, in Geyer, p. 149. See also Duchesne, pp. 522 and 576–577, and 274. Etheria refers to "libri

the anniversary of the finding of the Lord's Cross. Furthermore, it was the anniversary of the dedication of the Temple built by Solomon.

Paulinus of Nola, writing to his friend Sulpicius Severus in A.D. 398, relates the story of the finding of the Cross, as it had been told him by the famous ascetic Melania, when she came to Italy for the purpose of gaining recruits among her kinsfolk for the monastic army in Palestine. Melania gave Paulinus a fragment of the Cross, which she had received from the bishop of Jerusalem. Paulinus sent a sub-fragment of the relic to Severus in a letter containing the story of the finding of the Cross and its miraculous identification, and Severus incorporated the story in the chronicle which he was then compiling.[1] In this story, the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine, plays the leading part. Cyril of Jerusalem, in the letter in which he

Paralipomenon," the passage being 2 Chron. vii. 8–10. From that passage, compared with 1 Kings viii. 2, 65, 66 (omitting " even fourteen days " as an interpolation in 65—the omission is sanctioned by 2 Chron. ii. 8) it appears that the *encænia* of Solomon's Temple were held Ethanim (=Tisri) 15–22, i.e. coincided with the Feast of Tabernacles. The solemnity of Holy Cross Day—September 14—originates in the *encænia* of Constantine's Martyrion and other buildings on and around the Sepulchre.

[1] Paulini Nolani Ep. xxxi. Sulpicii Severi Chronic. lib. II. c. 34. Lagrange, *Histoire de S. Paulin de Nole*, pp. 398–400, 475.

announced and described to the Emperor Constantius, son and successor of Constantine, the miraculous phenomenon of a cross in the sky above Jerusalem on Whitsunday, May 7, A.D. 351, speaks of the Cross of the Lord's Passion as having been found in the reign of Constantine, but makes no mention of the Empress Helena. Eusebius attributes to Helena the initiative in the building of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem and that of the Ascension upon the summit of the Mount of Olives,[1] but the Empress' name does not occur once in his account of the clearing of the site of the Sepulchre and the basilica and other structures erected for the due adornment of that holy place. With the development of the legend of the Cross, Helena comes more and more to the front. Briefly, the story told by Melania to Paulinus, communicated by Paulinus to Sulpicius Severus, and incorporated by the last in his Chronicle, is as follows. The Empress Helena, having a great and consuming desire to recover the Lord's Cross, caused great excavations to be made near the newly-recovered Sepulchre, and was rewarded by the finding of three crosses. That on which the Lord had hung was identified by the resuscitation of a dead man at its touch, when contact with the other two had failed to restore life. The sacred and wonder-working relic was placed

[1] *V.C.* III. 43.

in the basilica called "the Martyrium," whence it was brought forth by the bishop once a year, on the anniversary of the Crucifixion. Distinguished visitors to the holy places were allowed the privilege and special honour of being admitted at other times to the place where the relic was kept. Small fragments were distributed in great numbers among the faithful; nevertheless the dimensions of the Cross remained unimpaired.[1]

The Church-historian Socrates, writing about A.D. 440, states[2] that "Helena, the Emperor's mother, being warned of God in dreams came to Jerusalem, and finding what was once Jerusalem a desolation, like a shed in a garden, as the prophet had foretold, made diligent search for the Tomb of Christ. With difficulty indeed, but with success at last, by God's help, she found it. The cause of the difficulty, stated briefly, was this. After the Passion of Christ, his followers held the tomb in honour, but their enemies covered it with a mound and set thereon a temple and image of Aphrodite, by way of abolishing the remembrance of the place. So it stood for many years, and then the matter was made known to the Emperor's mother. Having cast down the image, therefore, and removed the

[1] Lagrange (l'Abbé F.), *Histoire de S. Paulin de Nole*, pp. 398–400, 475.

[2] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* I. 17.

earth which covered the place, she found three crosses in the tomb, and with them the board inscribed by Pilate, proclaiming in different styles of writing the crucified Jesus as King of the Jews." At first, Helena was at a loss to distinguish the Cross of Jesus from the crosses of the malefactors, but Bishop Macarius devised a test which proved decisive. The crosses were brought in turn to the bedside of a woman who was at the point of death, and the identity of the Lord's Cross was revealed by the restoration of the patient to health and strength. "The Emperor's mother built a magnificent house of prayer on the site of the Sepulchre, and called it New Jerusalem, setting it face to face with the ancient and abandoned one.[1] Part of the Cross she enclosed in a silver box and left there as a memorial for such as desire to see it. The rest she sent to the Emperor." Constantine placed this relic in the pedestal of the statue made in his image and likeness which surmounted the porphyry column erected in the forum called by his name in Constantinople. Helena also found the nails with which Christ had been fastened to the Cross. These she sent to her son, who caused them to be made

[1] ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως μήτηρ οἶκον μὲν εὐκτήριον ἐν τῷ τοῦ μνήματος τόπῳ πολυτελῆ κατεσκεύασεν, Ἱερουσαλήμ τε Νέαν ἐπωνόμασεν, ἀντιπρόσωπον τῇ παλαιᾷ ἐκείνῃ καὶ καταλελειμμένῃ ποιήσασα. Evidently borrowed from Eusebius, *V.C.* III. 33, see note 1, p. 74. Socrates assigns to Helena the part assigned by Eusebius to her son.

into horse-bits and a helmet,[1] wherewith he equipped himself when he went to war.[2]

The story told by Sozomen, who was a contemporary of Socrates, is the same in its main features.[3] Some interesting details are added. Sozomen himself thinks that the site of the Lord's Sepulchre was revealed through "signs and dreams" sent by God, but he also mentions a report that it was ascertained by "a Hebrew, one of those who live in the East," from consultation of "ancestral Scripture"—the Old Testament, to wit. It does not seem to have occurred to Sozomen, any more than to Socrates or Eusebius, that the Venus-temple itself (which they all mention) was an excellent landmark. Sozomen speaks of the Holy Sepulchre as a cavern (*τὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἄντρον*). In another place, near by the Sepulchre, three crosses were found, and apart from them a board like an *album* (a whitewashed or white-painted announcement-board), which bore in letters of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin the inscription "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews." The crosses were dismembered, and the pieces scattered about. This, according to Sozomen, had been done by the soldiers who cruci-

[1] They must have been enormous nails.

[2] Did Constantine conduct any campaigns in person after A.D. 324?

[3] Sozom. *H.E.* II. 1.

fied Jesus.[1] The helmet and the bit which Constantine caused to be made out of the nails of the Cross were, according to an opinion quoted (and evidently shared) by Sozomen, a fulfilment of the prophecy of Zechariah. "At this time there shall be [inscribed] upon the horse's bit 'Holy to the Lord Almighty.'"[2] The veneration rendered to the Cross had been foretold, it was said, in the Sibylline oracle, "O blessed Tree, whereon God's limbs were stretched."[3]

It is significant that whereas Cyril of Jerusalem, in his *Catecheses*, which may be dated as far back as A.D. 347, speaks of the wood of the Cross as being distributed in small pieces throughout the world, Eusebius, composing a biography of Constantine not later than A.D. 340, says not a word of the discovery of the Cross. What is the meaning of Eusebius' silence?

There is no reason for denying, or even doubting, that under Helena's personal supervision excava-

[1] The soldiers having taken down the bodies from the crosses *τὰ ξύλα ὅπῃ ἔτυχεν ἄλλο ἄλλῃ ἔρριψαν. τί γὰρ καὶ ἐπιμελὲς αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ τάξει ταῦτα εἶἀν, ἑκάστου φθάσαι τὴν ἐσπέραν σπουδάζοντος καὶ ἀνδρῶν βίᾳ τετελευτηκότων περὶ σταυροὺς ἐνδιατρίβειν οὐκ ἀγαθὸν ἡγουμένου*; The "title" was *ἐν τάξει λευκώματος=albi modo*. On the *album*, see Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, s.v. Soz. follows the Johannine version of the title.

[2] Zech. xiv. 10 (LXX).

[3] *ὦ ξύλον, ὦ μακαριστόν, ἐφ' οὗ Θεὸς ἐξετανύσθη.* (Probably the original read *κατάρατον* instead of *μακαριστόν*.)

tions were made close by the sites identified as Golgotha and the Sepulchre; that these excavations were made because the Empress hoped and believed that they would lead to the finding of the Saviour's Cross; that they cleared the pit known since the age of the Crusades, if not from an earlier epoch, as the Chapel of Helena; and that here were found certain pieces of timber with large nails in them.[1] It cannot be denied that wooden beams may be preserved for hundreds of years. But to concede all this is not to commit oneself to the opinion that the beams so discovered, as Socrates and others report, were the crosses of Jesus and the two malefactors.

The "title" is not the link that completes the chain of evidence, nor yet the alleged miraculous resuscitation of a dead or dying body. The "title"[2] might have been provided for the occasion, just as a rusty lance-head was provided for the famous discovery of the "Holy Lance" in the Church of S. Peter at Antioch on the 27th of June, A.D. 1098.[2] The story of the miracle may be from its very beginning a pious romance.[3]

[1] Sozomen observes that the crosses were found *χύδην διεσπαρμένοι*. He is also careful (as Socrates is not) to mention that they were found, not in the Sepulchre, but elsewhere.

[2] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. lviii.; Besant and Palmer, *Hist. of Jerusalem*, pp. 191–192, 194–195.

[3] "Miracles, most doubtful on the spot and at the moment,

The silence of Eusebius does not imply that no search was made for the True Cross when the site of the Holy Sepulchre was uncovered, or that nothing was found. It implies his disbelief in the truth of the statement that the True Cross had been found and its identity proved by a miracle. For him, however, it was morally impossible to avow his disbelief. Constantine and Helena were firmly persuaded of the truth and reality of the recovery of the Lord's Cross.[1] To utter any sceptical judgment would have been tantamount to accusing them of foolish credulity. Constantine would not have borne with patience the report that he and his mother—to whom he had given the title of Augusta—had been gulled, and he would have severely punished the author of such a report.

The Bordeaux Pilgrim, visiting Jerusalem in A.D. 333, makes no mention of the finding of the

will be received with implicit faith at a convenient distance of time and space "—Gibbon, l.c. The story of the miracle is not uniform : compare Paulinus, *Ep.* xxxi. ; Socrates, *H.E.* I. 17 : Sozomen, *H.E.* II. 1 ; Adamnanus, *de Locis Sanctis*, I. 11 ; Bæda, *de Locis Sanctis*, I. 2 (Geyer, pp. 239 and 307) ; Epiphanii Monachi *Peregrinatio*, c. 1 ; other reff. in Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. Christ. Antiq.* vol. I, art. " Cross, Finding of."

[1] The search made at the request of Helena (a request which was probably a communication of a command from her son) ought not to be dissociated from Constantine's introduction of a new type of standard into the Roman army and the story of the vision portending his victory over Maxentius in A.D. 312.

Cross. It cannot be supposed, however, that he heard nothing of it, or disbelieved what he heard—and saw. He relates that he saw an underground chamber in which Solomon "tormented demons" and the stains left by the blood of Zacharias, who was slain between the Holy Place and the Altar; also the palm-tree, from which branches were cut down and strewn before Jesus on the day of His entry in state into Jerusalem. His silence must be taken as implying that the story of the Finding of the Cross was already so well and widely known that he did not think it worth while to insert it in the record of his pilgrimage. This hypothesis cannot be applied to the case of Eusebius. The Bishop of Cæsarea, in his Life of Constantine, addresses himself, as the Bordeaux Pilgrim in his Itinerary does not, to the task of setting forth completely and in detail the history of the uncovering of the Holy Sepulchre. In this history, as related more or less at length by Paulinus, Socrates, and Sozomen, the finding of the Cross is a prominent feature. In Eusebius' account, this recovery—no less notable than that of the Sepulchre itself—does not appear at all. The *Inventio Crucis* cannot be dated, at furthest, later than the reign of Constantine. The alleged "finding" or "recovery" must be regarded as synchronizing with that of the Lord's Sepulchre. Evidently, Eusebius disbelieved the find-

ing of the Cross, though he believed that the Holy Tomb had been uncovered and fully identified.[1]

When the rock-tomb identified as the Lord's Sepulchre was uncovered, at least one other rock-tomb was also found in its immediate vicinity. This was the burial-place known in after-time, if not from the beginning, as " the Tomb of Joseph and Nicodemus," which lies about twenty yards to the west of the traditional sepulchre of the Lord.[2] In order to ascertain the identity of the Lord's Cross, found together with those of the robbers, a miracle was required. How was the Lord's Sepulchre distinguished from this other one, uncovered at the same time and within a short distance ? Neither Eusebius nor any one else can be said to enlighten us on this point.

The temple of Venus had served as a landmark to show where the Holy Tomb lay—for Christians at any rate—concealed from view and barred from approach. It is not certain, perhaps not even probable, that there was a correct tradition regarding its *form*. The identification may have been an arbitrary selection. Cyril of Jerusalem

[1] Eusebius probably regarded the " Wood of the True Cross " very much as the Papal Legate Adhémar of Puy, and Arnold, chaplain to Duke Robert of Normandy, regarded the " Holy Lance."

[2] Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 194–195 ; G. Jeffery in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. XVII (1910), p. 758 f.

speaks of a "portico" (*σκέπη, προσκέπασμα*) hewn out of the rock, like the burial-chamber itself, as having formed the original entrance of the Sepulchre. This "portico" had been removed when the Sepulchre was adorned by Constantine.[1] Its form may be conjectured from that of the porticoes of the so-called "Tomb of S. James" and "Tombs of the Kings" in the environs of Jerusalem, which were hewn out of the same rock in which the burial-chambers behind them were excavated.[2] This portico might have been the distinguishing feature by means of which the Lord's Sepulchre was (rightly or wrongly) recognized and identified. It is possible also that the "monument of the Resurrection" was further distinguished from any others existing in the vicinity by having been hewn out of the rock externally as well as internally. In other words, it may have been a cube of rock detached by a passage-way along the sides and the back from the surrounding mass, like the monuments in the Kedron Valley known as the "Tomb of Absalom" and the "Tomb of Zacharias."[3]

[1] Cyrilli Hieros. Catech. xiv. 9. See note 2, p. 78.

[2] Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, Plates xiv. and xv.; Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 449, 518; Conder, *Syrian Stone-Lore*, pp. 219–221. These burial-places are assigned to the Herodian epoch (37 B.C.–A.D. 66).

[3] Sanday, op. cit. Plate xiv.; Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 449, 157–160; Conder, op. cit. l.c.; G. Jeffery in the *Journal of Royal In-*

Since the age of the Crusades, and even from a much earlier date, the crypt-chapel of S. Helena, or a subter-crypt at its south-east corner, has been pointed out as the place where the three crosses were found. These crypts lie about seventy yards to the east of the traditional Sepulchre of Christ. It seems that originally they were cisterns. In what epoch of the history of Jerusalem they were first excavated is a question to be answered only by guess-work. Assuming, however, that the finding of the crosses took place in one of these crypts, and that they were cleared of *débris* in the process, it is fairly certain that they were covered up when Ælia Capitolina was built. The accumulation of *débris* may indeed be assigned to the year 70 C.E., in which the city was laid waste by Titus. If it could be proved that the Helena-chapel was contrived in a foss running north and south in front of (i.e. *outside*) the Second Wall of the Herodian city, the case for the genuineness of the traditional sites of Golgotha and the Sepulchre would be considerably reinforced. But the north and south walls of this crypt, as well

stitute of British Architects, vol. XVII. (1910), p. 714. The western-most part of the round church in which the Holy Sepulchre stands, as it stood in the age of the Crusades, and even before the first Moslem conquest of the Holy Land, occupies a curved recess cut in a cliff, the top of which is some thirty feet above the level of the floor of the round church. This curved recess may be an enlargement upon a *laura* running round three sides of a cubical mass quarried out of the cliff.

as the east and west, are rock-walls, not masonry-walls. Furthermore, the origin and purpose of the lower crypt would still be left—though appropriately enough—in obscurity.[1]

[1] Of these crypts, see Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 222–224, quoting Felix Fabri (A.D. 1483): "hæc capella est satis magna, alias parietes non habens nisi petras, in quibus est incisa"; see also I. Suppl. pp. 135–136. The western end of Constantine's basilica (the Martyrion) is best supposed to have been constructed over the Helena-Chapel: cf. the *Breviarius de Hierosolima* (sixth century): Magna ab occidente [sc. basilicæ Constantini] est absida, ubi inventæ sunt tres cruces (Geyer, *Itin. Hierosol.* p. 153), and see the plan in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 379, p. 112. Mr. Jeffery's conjecture (following Dr. Schick) of a site near the existing Church of the Sepulchre for the *Prætorium* is improbable (*J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. pp. 751–753), and this necessarily affects one's estimate of his conjecture of a gate in a re-entering angle of the wall (i.e. the Second Wall of Josephus, *B.J.* V. iv.) at this point.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, A.D. 326–614

(Plate A and Figs. 1 and 2 in Plate D.)

THE Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the epoch from the uncovering of the Sepulchre in A.D. 326 to the destruction of the churches of Jerusalem by the Persians in A.D. 614 is the Church built by the Emperor Constantine and dedicated in the thirtieth year of his reign. Details for a description of this church, or rather, group of buildings, have to be drawn from the following sources :—

i. *Remains in situ.* These are very scanty, comprising only some fragments of walls and columns.[1]

ii. *Literary documents.* The description (obscure from excess of rhetorical brilliance) in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* (Bk. III, ch. 33–40 : composed not later than A.D. 340) ; allusions in the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem (assigned to A.D. 347–348) ; and notices and descriptions in the narratives

[1] Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. pp. 755–759 (Sept. 24, 1910).

of the Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333), Etheria (about A.D. 385), Eucherius (fifth century), Theodosius, Antoninus of Placentia, the Breviarius de Hierosolyma, and the anonymous writer drawn upon by the monk Peter of Cassino in compiling his book *De Locis Sanctis*. (The last four narratives date from the sixth century.) [1]

iii. *Iconographic and iconoglyptic:* The apse-mosaic in the Church of S. Pudentiana at Rome (fourth century); the Madeba Mosaic (sixth century); and certain carved ivories of the epoch 400–600 C.E.[2]

The general plan of Constantine's work was as follows. A great semicircular recess, about 120 feet in diameter, was excavated to the south, the west, and the north of the Holy Sepulchre, which was left standing detached in the form of a mass of rock containing a cavern. The floor of the recess was levelled; also the ground to the east and south-east of it. A great paved and colonnaded court was then laid out, having on the west a circular building, which covered and contained the

[1] The pilgrim-narratives are contained in Geyer's *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (Vienna, 1898).

[2] S. Pudentiana Mosaic; see *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 709 (Aug. 27, 1910); *Quarterly Review*, No. 379 (July, 1899); Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church*, p. 306; Madeba Mosaic, Lowrie, op. cit. p. 307; Ivories, Jeffery, *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. pp. 713–14.

Sepulchre-rock and was called "the Anastasis" (i.e. the Resurrection) or "the Church of the Anastasis." On the east rose a great church, known as "the Martyrion," "the Martyrion of Constantine," or "the Basilica of Constantine." On the south side of the court was the place called *Golgotha*, from which it appears that *Calvary* was distinguished by many as a part from the whole. Calvary was marked by a monumental cross. At the east end of the Martyrion or Basilica of Constantine—the end furthest from the Holy Sepulchre, there was a second, and smaller, colonnaded court, with a gateway fronting upon the forum or upon the great street that ran north and south through the forum.

A. The Church of the Anastasis.

The great semicircular recess excavated around the Holy Sepulchre was occupied, from the reign of Constantine to that of Heraclius, by the western half of a circular building, in the centre of which stood the Sepulchre-rock with its sacred cavern.

The existence of such a building, in the first or Roman epoch of the history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, is inferred from the following *data* :—

(*i*.) The notices contained in Etheria's narrative, which dates from not more than sixty years after the "Encænia" or dedication of Constantine's buildings on September 14,

A.D. 335. Etheria mentions "sancta *ecclesia*, quæ est ad Anastase, id est in eo loco ubi Dominus resurrexit" (c. 48), distinguishing it from the Martyrion or great basilica. She speaks of the Anastasis itself as a "basilica" (cc. 24. 8 and 10, 25. 2). The term "basilica" could be used in the fourth century in speaking of a round building, for the Bordeaux Pilgrim calls Constantine's Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives a "basilica" (Geyer, *Itin. Hierosol.* p. 23), and that was either a round or an octagonal building (Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church*, Fig. 44c and p. 142). Etheria speaks of *congregational services* held in the Anastasis-building; also of *assemblies of newly-baptized persons to receive instruction in the "misteria"* from the bishop, who addressed them from a place immediately in front of the Sepulchre. See Geyer, *Itin. Hier.* pp. 71–73, 85, 90, 99; Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (E.T.), pp. 492–496, 507, 512, 521.

(*ii.*) The representation of Constantine's buildings in the apse-mosaic in the Church of S. Pudentiana at Rome. In the middle distance of the picture is a rocky knoll ("monticulus Golgotha" of the Bordeaux Pilgrim) surmounted by a great ornamental cross (the cross so frequently mentioned by Etheria, and clearly in distinction from the "wood of the True Cross" kept as a relic). To the left (i.e. the spectator's left) of the cross is a circular domed building, which is identified with the "sancta ecclesia, quæ est ad Anastase, id est in eo loco ubi Dominus resurrexit," of Etheria's narrative. The mosaic dates from the Papacy of Siricius (A.D. 384–399)—i.e. from the very epoch to which the pilgrimage of Etheria is assigned.

(*iii.*) The representation of the Sepulchre upon the ivory diptych in the collection of Count Trivulzio at Milan (Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 713). The diptych represents two Roman soldiers guarding the Sepulchre, which is portrayed as a circular building with a conical roof

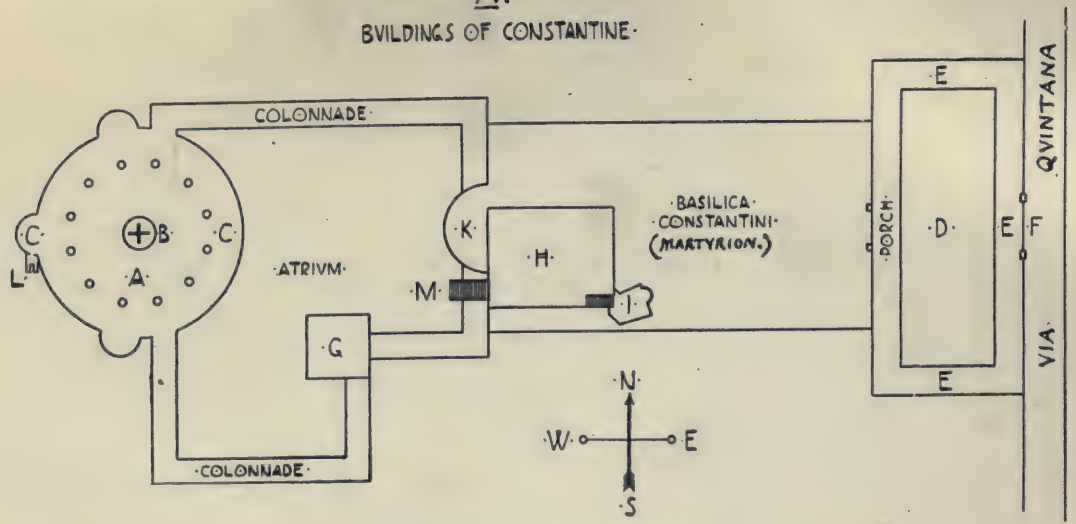

PLATE A.—BUILDINGS OF CONSTANTINE.

A. Anastasis (ecclesia rotunda).
B. Sepulchre.
CC. Ambulatory of Anastasis, with recesses.
D. Court or atrium in front of the Basilica of Constantine (Martyrion).
EEE. Colonnades.
F. Great gateway.
G. Golgotha.
H. Crypt of S. Helena, under the basilica.
I. Crypt of the *Inventio Crucis*, below H.
K. Apse of basilica.
L. Tomb of Nicodemus and Joseph.
M. Steps down to the Crypt of S. Helena.

To face page 96.

culminating in an egg-shaped finial. The building has barred windows. A vine (symbolizing the garden) grows up one side of it. This relic may date from the end of the fourth century. Possibly it expresses a conflation of two notions, viz. (1) of the Sepulchre-monument, (2) of the building in which that monument stood.

(*iv.*) The representation of the Sepulchre-Church upon an ivory of the sixth century in the National Library at Paris. Within a wall fortified with towers are two buildings, one oblong, with a gable-roof (the Martyrion); the other circular, with an ambulatory round it. The circular building has a conical roof. This must represent the Church of the Anastasis. Lack of space prevented any indication of the great court which lay between the two buildings. (See *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 714.)

(*v.*) The Madeba Mosaic, assigned to the sixth century (Dowling, *Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem*, p. 143; Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church*, p. 307). To one side (the western side) of a great colonnaded street running through the city appears the gabled front of the Martyrion, and immediately beyond it a domed building, which from its position must be identified as the Church of the Anastasis.

(*vi.*) The notice in the *Breviarius de Hierosolyma*, a guide-book of the sixth or early seventh century C.E.—" Inde ad occidentem intras Sanctam Resurrectionem, ubi est Sepulcrum Domini; ubi est ante ipso ille lapis, genus silicis. Supra ipsum est ecclesia *in rotundo posita* " (Geyer, op. cit. p. 154).

(*vii.*) The description of the Church of the Anastasis in the narrative of the pilgrim Arculf, recorded by Adamnan, abbot of Iona. Arculf indeed did not visit Jerusalem until after the Moslem Conquest, which took place in A.D. 637, and therefore after the destruction of Constantine's buildings by the Persians, which befell in A.D. 614. But the

" round church," in the midst of which stood the Sepulchre-monument, and which Arculf describes in some detail and with evident admiration, must have been the restoration of a building which had existed before the time of the Persian invasion and can only be attributed to Constantine, as no other Emperor is credited with having built on the sites of Golgotha and the Sepulchre. Modestus, who administered the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in the absence of Zacharias, who had been carried away captive to Persia, could not have commanded ways and means adequate to the construction, entirely *de novo*, of such a sanctuary as Arculf describes. But he could have found and provided a sufficiency for the repairing and restoration even of a very badly damaged building. Fallen stonework could be built up again ; columns cracked by fire could be made reliable by means of strong metal hoops. Probably the Persians did not undertake a regular demolition of Constantine's buildings, but heaped up masses of inflammable material in them and trusted to fire to make them a complete ruin. The conflagration, for all the destruction it might cause, might yet leave a considerable skeleton of the buildings for the restorers to work upon. Arculf describes the church he saw as " grandis ecclesia, tota lapidea, mira rotunditate ex omni parte conlocata." The upper part was borne up by twelve columns ; " duodecim miræ magnitudinis sustentant columnæ." In the midst was " rotundum in una eademque petra excisum tegurium," the " mausoleum Salvatoris." Arculf drew for Adamnan's benefit a plan of the church upon a wax-covered tablet. From this plan must be derived, mediately or immediately, the plans which adorn the MS. texts of Arculf's narrative reduced by Adamnan to the form of " Three Books concerning the Holy Places " (Geyer, op. cit. pp. 227–230, and reproduction of a plan on p. 231). Modestus' round church, then, seen and described by Arculf, being

a restoration of Constantine's Church of the Anastasis, the description of it may justifiably be drawn upon for details in a narrative-reconstruction of its original.

The existence of such a building could not be inferred from any of the statements left on record by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, by Eusebius, or by Cyril of Jerusalem. The Bordeaux Pilgrim's notice might indeed be understood as implying that the great basilica had been built over the Sepulchre.[1] Eusebius states that "the Emperor's devotion adorned the sacred cavern with choice columns and abundance of embellishment."[2] Cyril of Jerusalem mentions the removal of the portico (*σκέπη*, *προσκέπασμα*) of the tomb in connection with its adornment by Constantine.[3] Eusebius again speaks of the Sepulchre, after its uncovering and the erection of Constantine's buildings, as standing out detached in a level place.[4] From Eusebius and Cyril, then, one could infer that the Sepulchre-rock, in their time, was enclosed or *encased* in a *sacellum* or *ædicula*, and that the great semicircular recess

[1] Geyer, op. cit. p. 22 : euntibus ad porta Neapolitana . . . a sinistra parte est monticulus Golgotha, ubi Dominus crucifixus est. Inde quasi ad lapidem missum est cripta, ubi corpus eius positum fuit et tertia die resurrexit : *ibidem* modo iussu Constantini imperatoris basilica facta est. (The adverb *ibidem*, however, need not be understood absolutely *au pied de la lettre*.)

[2] *Vita Const.* III. 33 and 34 : cf. *Panegyr. Tricenn.* c. 9.

[3] *Catech.* xiv. 9.

[4] *Theophania*, p. 199.

around it was part of the great open court.[1] It may be suggested that the building implied in Etheria's notices of the Anastasis—she states, for example, that in Easter Week the newly-baptized received instruction concerning the " misteria Dei secretiora " in the Anastasis-Church and that " fideles " as well as " neofiti " might attend[2]—was erected in the period between the death of Constantine and the accession of Theodosius I (i.e. between A.D. 337 and 379). But there is no record of so important an addition to Constantine's edifices, and we may be sure that it would not have been allowed to pass unrecorded. There is, after all, no real contradiction between the two sets of evidence—that of the seven witnesses on the one hand, and that of the three on the other.[3] The Bordeaux Itinerary is a mere collection of " jottings," and in a descriptive study based on these notes and on unrecorded memories he might

[1] This was the inference drawn by Willis (see Williams, *H. C.* II. p. 172, and Plate I. Fig. 2 ; Plate II. Fig. 6). Conder (*Syrian Stone-Lore*, p. 298) regarded the semicircular excavation as made for the purpose of accommodating the apse of the great basilica or " ecclesia maior."

[2] Geyer, op. cit. pp. 98–99 ; Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (E.T.), p. 521. Etheria mentions the *doors* of the Anastasis : " *clauduntur ostia*, ne qui cathecuminus se dirigat. Disputante autem episcopo singula et narrante, tantæ voces sunt collaudantium ut *porro foras ecclesia* audiantur voces eorum."

[3] To the three might be added Eucherius, Theodosius and Antoninus, as at any rate lacking in explicitness (Geyer, pp. 126, 141, 171).

have made express mention of a "basilica Anastasis." Eusebius was concerned more with his Sovereign's lavish magnificence than with providing a fully intelligible description of the edifices in which that magnificence took visible and tangible form. Cyril, in the instruction of catechumens, would only allude to those buildings in so far as was necessary, from time to time, to enforce his points. The architectural history of the Sepulchre did not lie within the scope of his discourses. One would hardly expect the Vicar of, let us say, S. Bartholomew's in Smithfield to include the history of that building in addresses to a confirmation-class.

For details of the structure we must have recourse principally to the narrative of Arculf, although his visit to Jerusalem did not take place until more than half a century after the devastation of the city and its churches by the Persians. The round church seen and described by him was a restoration. It could not have been anything else. In beauty of appearance it was no doubt far inferior to the "former house," but it would reproduce the main features of the original design.

Arculf describes this church as having three lines of wall, one within another, and three altars at three places in the middle wall.[1] In the plan accompany-

[1] Geyer, op. cit. p. 227; Willis in Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 259 and 261 n.

ing the text of his narrative in the *Codex MS. Latinus no.* 13048 of the National Library in Paris—a ninth-century MS.—three square recesses are shown in the middle wall; one to the north, one to the west, one to the south.[1] Now there are three curvilinear recesses in the outer wall of the circular structure which is the existing successor of the "basilica Anastasis" seen by Etheria in the fourth century and the "rotunda ecclesia" seen and described by Arculf in the seventh. Behind the westernmost curve of the main wall lies the rock.[2] But how could the rock, or a wall built against it, have ever been a *middle* wall? In the eastern half of the building, a wall outside one continuing and closing the curve of the rock-wall, would of course be quite practicable. It is possible that Arculf, approaching the Anastasis-church from the court which lay to the east of it, passed within through what he took to be entrances through three concentric walls—or thought he could best describe as such. When he looked into the three recesses in which altars were set, on the south, west, and north, he may have thought that the wall in which

[1] Geyer, pp. xxxix. and 231; see also Willis in *H.C.* II. p. 258, n. 2.

[2] Willis in *H.C.* II. p. 265. Compare the plans of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in *H. C.* II. Plates I. and II., and I. p. 446; *Quarterly Review*, No. 379 (July, 1899), pp. 112, 117, 120; *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. pp. 805–806 (Oct. 22, 1910).

these recesses were set, being in line with the second of the three through which he had passed in entering, had another wall lying beyond it.

The outermost wall may have been, properly speaking, not a wall but a colonnade, which originally had been part of the system of colonnades erected round the great court. The second or middle one would be the outer wall of the church. This wall, in the westernmost part of its course, was backed up against the rock.[1] In it were—and still are—the three recesses which, when Arculf saw them, were occupied by altars. The third or innermost wall may be identified with the twelve columns and the structure immediately above them. Besides the columns, there may also have been, both in the original Anastasis and in its restoration, square piers to support the superincumbent wall.[2]

[1] See Willis in *H.C.* II. p. 265: "the outer wall of his [Arculf's] description was probably an external peristyle or cloister, as in the Church of S. Fosca at Torcello." Willis expressly repudiates any supposition that this peristyle could have been carried round the western half of the church. In the plan of the Buildings of Modestus on p. 117 of the *Quarterly Review*, No. 379, there is a peristyle round the *eastern* half of the Anastasis, continued in the form of a wall, outside the line of the rock-wall, on the *west*. If continued in any form, it could only have been continued round the upper part of the Anastasis and at a height of thirty feet above its floor-level—which would not have been a true continuation.

[2] Willis in *H.C.* II. p. 267; cf. Mr. Jeffery's plan in the *J.R.I.B.A. loc. cit.*

According to Arculf's description, there were two entrances into the Anastasis, each of them quadruple, i.e. consisting of four passage-ways.[1] Etheria mentions the doors of the Anastasis,[2] and it is likely enough that in her time, as in Arculf's, they were set in the north-east and south-east quadrants of the circle. The quadruple construction spoken of by Arculf may also have reproduced a feature of the original design.

Within the central space, between the entrances, and (so far as one can infer) close to the eastern wall, there was in Arculf's time a fourth altar.[3] This, he asserts, was formed of the larger part of the stone which had once closed the Sepulchre. Etheria speaks of an *oblatio* (i.e. Eucharist) in the Anastasis early on Saturday mornings in Lent.[4] There would only be one altar in the church in her day,[5] and this would naturally be placed in the eastern curve of the building, facing the entrance of the Sepulchre.

The question of the purpose for which the three recesses (p. 102) were originally designed is connected with the question whether the Anastasis-Church was

[1] Geyer, op. cit. pp. 227–228; Willis in *H.C.* II. p. 266.
[2] Geyer, op. cit. pp. 75, 98.
[3] Geyer, pp. 230, 232.
[4] Geyer, op. cit. p. 80; Duchesne, op. cit. pp. 501–502.
[5] See Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, art. "Altar," § vii. (vol. I. p. 67).

or was not an hypæthral structure. If the central portion was not roofed over, the recesses might have received sufficient light through the spaces between the columns and piers to serve conveniently as *exedræ*, such as are mentioned in Cicero's philosophical writings as places where conferences and discussions were held.[1] They might have been used —and this might have been their original purpose— for the catechizing of such as sought instruction in the Faith. Etheria speaks of the catechizing of "neofiti," i.e. the newly-baptized, by the Bishop of Jerusalem in the Anastasis, but she expressly states that the bishop then took his place just behind the railing which encircled the Sepulchre-rock or its entrance.[2] These catechizings in the Anastasis, however, were proceedings of a public character. The recesses might have been used for smaller and more private gatherings, such as those of candidates

[1] See ref. in Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, art. "*Exedra.*" The term could be interchanged with ἡμικύκλιον (hemicyclium) and *absis*.

[2] Geyer, p. 99 : Duchesne, p. 521 : stat episcopus incumbens in cancello interiore, qui est in spelunca Anastasis. Etheria's use of prepositions is not always very enlightening. The "cancellus" could not have been *in* the cavern. Etheria is more intelligible in her account of the service held in the Anastasis on Wednesday in Holy Week (Geyer, p. 85. 8 ; Duchesne, p. 507) : intrat episcopus in spelunca quæ est in Anastase, et stat intra cancellos ; cf. the account of the benediction after the Mass on Sundays (Geyer, p. 75. 4–5 ; Duchesne, p. 496), episcopus ingreditur intra cancellos [martyrii] speluncæ.

for ordination. At the back of one of them (viz. the western) was the entrance to the rock-tomb now known as the Tomb of Joseph and Nicodemus.[1] This is not mentioned in any documents of the Roman epoch, and it is doubtful whether it was a recognized "locus sanctus" before the age of the Crusades. Its very existence may have been kept concealed when the site was cleared by Constantine, and so have remained unknown for centuries.[2] At any rate, there is no reason to suppose that the western recess was excavated in order to provide a "locus sanctus" with a *pronaos* or ante-chapel.

On the supposition, then, that the Anastasis was an hypæthral building, the three recesses at its extreme south, west, and north points can be accounted for as *exedræ*. But was the Anastasis hypæthral? In mediæval and modern times, the round church occupying the site of Constantine's Anastasis has been crowned with a dome open at the summit.[3] If Constantine's Church of the

[1] Described in Williams, *H.C.* vol. II. pp. 194–195.

[2] Eusebius (*Theophania*, p. 199) rejoices over the fact that in the Sepulchre-rock there was only *one* cavern; had there been more than one, the miracle of the Resurrection might have been exposed to doubt. One is inclined to think that the authorities walled up this tomb—or what was left of it—in order to head off the possibility of unedifying controversies arising out of obstinate questionings.

[3] Williams, *H.C.* pp. 202–203; Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. pp. 715–716, 717–718, 725, 807–809. The dome open at the summit has been the only means of lighting the round church.

Ascension upon the Mount of Olives was restored in exact accordance with its original form after its destruction by the Persians in A.D. 614, Arculf's description of it may be accepted as proof that in that form it was hypæthral, being a round church with its central portion completely open to the sky. For a church which was a memorial of the Ascension, the hypæthral form was most fitting.[1] It might also be regarded as fitting for a church erected as a memorial of the Resurrection or as an enclosure to protect the Holy Tomb.[2] But in the mosaic of S. Pudentiana and in that of Madeba, and in the sixth-century diptych in the National Library at Paris, the Sepulchre-Church or Anastasis appears as a building surmounted by a cupola. The cupola, however, may have been open at the top. An opening ten or twelve feet wide, so placed, would have sufficed, without any other means of admitting the daylight, for the illumination of the central part of the building, and if the spaces between the columns and piers were not too narrow, the three recesses would also have received some share of light. If that share was defective, it could have been supplemented by the light of lamps or tapers.

[1] Geyer, pp. 246–251.

[2] If its central portion was fully hypæthral, the Anastasis was really a circular colonnaded court surrounding the Sepulchre-rock.

The ambulatory between the colonnade and the outer wall of the Anastasis may be supposed to have had a vaulted roof decorated with mosaics, like that of the ambulatory of the mausoleum of Constantia, Constantine's sister, in Rome. The cupola of the mausoleum also was decorated with mosaics, and it may have been the same with the cupola of the Anastasis.[1]

B. The Sepulchre.

Our fourth-century authorities do not abound in detailed description of the form and appearance of the Sepulchre as it stood in their day, after the clearing and dedication of the site by the pious zeal of Constantine.

The Bordeaux Pilgrim places at a stone's throw

[1] Mausoleum of Constantia: see Lowrie, op. cit.; figures 44d and 125, 126; pp. 139, 142, 297–301; and F. H. Simpson, *Hist. of Architectural Development*, I. p. 209. Etheria mentions mosaics as one among the many forms of adornment bestowed by Constantine upon the Anastasis, the Martyrion, and other buildings over holy places (Geyer, p. 76. 20; Duchesne, p. 498). It is possible, of course, that the roof of the Anastasis was a wooden one, like that of the round Church of S. Stephen in Rome (S. Stefano Rotondo), which dates from the latter part of the fifth century. There is a curious similarity between the plan of this church and that of the Anastasis drawn by Arculf for Abbot Adamnan. See the plan of S. Stefano in Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, art. "Church"; Lowrie, op. cit. p. 138; F. H. Simpson, op. cit. I. p. 207; and Arculf's plan of the Anastasis in Geyer, *Itin. Hierosol.* p. 231; *Quarterly Review*, No. 379, p. 117.

from the "monticulus Golgotha" a grotto (*cripta*), in which the Lord's body had been laid and on the third day rose again.[1]

Eusebius calls the Holy Tomb "the sacred cavern," "the cavern of salvation," speaks of it as standing (after the clearing of the site and the execution of the other works ordered by Constantine) "in the midst of a level place" and containing only one cavern, and mentions "choice columns," "abundance of embellishment" and "all sorts of ornament." In what relation the "choice columns" stood to the Sepulchre-rock, he does not say.[2]

Cyril of Jerusalem asserts that traces (λείψανα) of Joseph's garden were still to be seen.[3] He

[1] Geyer, p. 22: inde quasi ad lapidem missum est cripta, ubi corpus eius positum fuit et tertia die resurrexit.

[2] Eusebius, *V.C.* III. cc. 26, 28, 33, 34; *Theophania* (quoted in Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 79).

[3] *Catech.* xiv. 5. Compare the Pilgrimage of Willibald (A.D. 722) and the *Periegesis* of the monk Epiphanius, compiled about A.D. 840, which speak of Joseph's garden as still to be seen between Golgotha and the Sepulchre; also the unknown author drawn upon by Peter the monk of Monte Cassino in making up his *Liber de Locis Sanctis* (A.D. 1137), who asserts that "post Resurrectionem est ortus in qua Sancta Maria cum Domino locuta est" (Geyer, p. 107). Could Cyril be explained as meaning that tessellated work in the pavement round the Sepulchre was intended to represent the garden? This solution could hardly be applied in the case of Willibald and Epiphanius, though perhaps it might in that of the author utilized by Peter of Monte Cassino.

mentions, though not with any definiteness of description, the adornment of the tomb, and observes that when this work was taken in hand the original entrance of the tomb was cut away.[1] He also mentions the stone, which originally closed it, as still lying before the entrance.[2]

Etheria makes repeated mention of the " cavern " (spelunca) and the railing which had been set around or in front of it.[3] She also speaks of a lamp kept ever burning in the cavern or grotto.[4]

Epiphanius, in a sermon upon the Sepulchre of the Lord, apostrophizes Joseph laying the dead body with its feet towards the east, and compares its resting-place with the manger at Bethlehem.[5]

If the information obtainable from fourth-century sources is defective, later sources belonging to the Roman epoch (A.D. 326–637) cannot be said to supplement it to any great extent. The *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* mentions a " transvolatile argenteum et aureum " as set over the Sepulchre, and a wealth of gold set round about it. This may, and probably

[1] *Catech.* xiv. 9, p. 78, n. 2, above.

[2] *Catech.* x. 19, xiii. 39, p. 78, n. 1, above.

[3] Geyer, pp. 71–73, 75, 85, 90, 99 ; Duchesne, pp. 492–496, 507, 512, 521.

[4] Geyer, p. 72. 8–10 ; Duchesne, p. 493.

[5] Ἆρα γὰρ ἆρα, εἰπέ μοι ὦ Ἰωσήφ, καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καταθάπτεις νεκρόν, τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῶν ἀνατολῶν ; ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ἐν φάτνῃ ὁ τόπος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ ὡς ἐπὶ φάτνης ὁ τόπος (p. 262 of Petavius' ed. of Epiphanius ; Cologne, 1682).

does, mean that over the Sepulchre-rock there was a roof made of gilded bronze tiles.[1] Before the Sepulchre, according to the same authority, there stood an altar, marking the spot where Zacharias had been slain. The dried stains of his blood were to be seen on the floor.[2] Antoninus of Placentia describes the " monumentum Domini " as hewn out of the natural rock, which resembled millstone. In it there was a " couch " (i.e. a shelf cut in the rock) on which the body of Jesus had been laid. A bronze lamp, which had been placed by our Lord's head at the time of his entombment, was kept burning night and day. The stone which had served to close the " monumentum " lay before the entrance. There was a wealth of adornment beyond reckoning: bracelets, necklaces, rings, girdles, sword-belts, imperial crowns of gold bedecked with gems, jewellery given by Empresses. The Sepulchre was covered in, like a shrine, with silver-gilt tiles.[3]

[1] Geyer, p. 154.

[2] Geyer, p. 154. The Bordeaux Pilgrim saw these stains on the site of the Temple (Geyer, p. 22): so too did the unknown writer drawn upon by Peter of Monte Cassino (Geyer, p. 108).

[3] Geyer, pp. 171 and 203–204: Monumentum Domini . . . de petra est naturale excisus et potus [*sic*: qu. torus ?] ubi corpus D. Iesu Christi positum fuit. Lucerna ærea, quæ in tempore [= olim] ad caput ipsius posita fuit, ibidem ardet die noctuque. . . . Lapis, unde clausus monumento, ante os monumenti est. . . . Petra monumenti velut molaris est. Ornamenta infinita. . . . Ipsum monumentum sic quasi in modum ædæ [= ædis] coopertus ex argento sub solas [*sic*] aureos.

The statements made by Eusebius and Cyril of Jerusalem permit the supposition that in the Roman epoch the Sepulchre-rock was cased in marble, as it was when Arculf saw it ; as it was again when it was visited by Saewulf and the Russian Abbot Daniel, soon after the capture of Jerusalem by Godfrey de Bouillon ; as it has been ever since the age of the Crusades. On the other hand, nothing that any authorities of the Roman epoch have left on record necessitates the supposition that the Sepulchre-cavern was "lined" with marble, as it has been ever since the eleventh century.[1] Antoninus' statement [2] implies that somewhere in the Sepulchre-monument the natural rock was visible. If it was not visible from *without*, it must have been so *within*. Visiting Jerusalem and the Holy Places about A.D. 670—i.e. some fifty years after the destruction wrought by the Persians had been repaired, so far as was possible, by the labours of Modestus—Arculf found the Sepulchre-rock "completely encased in choice marble." The top of it, adorned with gold, was surmounted by a large

[1] Covering of the rock within and without since the eleventh century: see Saewulf in Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 269–273 and Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 37 f. ; Daniel in Khitrowo, *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, I. p. 13 ; see also Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 85–90, 165–170, 179–192.

[2] Petra monumenti velut molaris est. He also compares its colour with that of the rock of Golgotha.

golden cross. His description, however, implies that there was no marble covering upon the natural rock *within*.[1] If Modestus was careful for anything —and he was careful for many things—he must have been careful for the completest restoration attainable, under the circumstances, of the "Monumentum Domini." It is quite permissible, therefore, to suppose that before and until A.D. 614, the year of the Persian devastation of the Holy City, the Sepulchre-rock, though covered with slabs of marble without, was not so covered within.

The external appearance of the "Monumentum Domini" in the Roman epoch, down to A.D. 614, may be conjectured to have been as follows. It was a circular or polygonal structure measuring about eighteen feet in diameter.[2] The rock was

[1] Geyer, p. 228: In medio spatio huius interioris rotundæ domus rotundum inest in una eademque petra excisum tegurium. . . . Huius tegurii introitus ad orientem respicit; quod *totum extrinsecus electo tegitur marmore*, cuius exterius summum culmen auro ornatum auream non parvam sustentat crucem. In huius tegurii aquilonea parte sepulchrum Domini in eadem petra interius excisum habetur; p. 232, illud Dominici monumenti tegurium *nullo intrinsecus ornatu tectum* usque hodie per totam eius cavaturam ferramentorum ostendit vestigia . . . color vero illius eiusdem petræ monumenti et sepulchri non unus, sed duo permixti videntur, ruber utique et albus, unde et bicolor ostenditur eadem petra. Cf. Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 173–175.

[2] Arculf calls it "rotundum tegurium." But drawings and plans made at various times since A.D. 1500, and the very shape

encased in marble slabs and "engaged" columns, and upon the columns lay an architrave and cornice.[1] The roof, conical in form, was covered with gold and silver tiles—or more probably with bronze tiles overlaid, some with gold, others with silver.[2] At the summit there stood a cross, golden or gilded.[3] In front of the entrance, *cancelli* formed a diminutive fore-court.[4] Within this enclosure was kept the stone which had originally closed the entrance of the tomb.[5] The entrance was a small opening, not much over three feet in height, and its axis lay obliquely to that of the "Monumentum" and the Anastasis.[6] The east front of the rock, in which the entrance opened, may have been cut into an apsidal recess,[7] and the apse may have been decorated with a mosaic representing the Resurrection. Other

of the existing "Monumentum" indicate that the rock was at some time or other hewn, on its western side at all events, into five sides of a dodecagon.

[1] Compare the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates at Athens.

[2] Like the gilded bronze tiles of the roof over the great "Cantharus" in the atrium of the original S. Peter's at Rome: see Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church*, pp. 179–180.

[3] Even in the Modestine restoration the "Monumentum" had "summum culmen auro ornatum," supporting "auream non parvam crucem" (see p. 113, n. 1).

[4] *Cancelli*: Lowrie, op. cit. pp. 169–170.

[5] The round stone which once closed the entrance to the "Tombs of the Kings" still exists.

[6] See plans in *H.C.* II. Plate II., p. 289. Below; p. 240, Plate F, 7–8.

[7] Willis in *H.C.* II. p. 172, n. 1.

mosaics may have occupied the spaces above and at the sides of the entrance.

Within was a small chamber, measuring not quite seven feet in length, a little over six feet in breadth, and between seven and eight feet in height. The floor, walls, and ceiling of this chamber were all of bare rock. On the north side, i.e. to the right hand of one entering, there was an arched recess in the rock wall. The bottom of this recess lay about two feet above the floor of the chamber. It was long enough to admit of the body of a man six feet tall being laid upon it, and possibly it was so cut and fashioned as to form a shallow trough, but there was no ridge or crest running lengthwise to keep the legs of a corpse apart.[1] This arched recess was a variety of the class of mortuary receptacles known as *arcosolia*; similar receptacles have been found in the sepulchral monument nowadays known as the

[1] Willis in *H.C.* II. pp. 165–166, 174–179: also pp. 80–81. Arculf (Adamnan) in Geyer, pp. 228–229. Arculf carefully distinguished the *Sepulchrum* from the *Monumentum*. The former, according to him, is "ille locus in tegurio . . . in quo Dominicum corpus linteaminibus involutum conditum quievit,"—i.e. the arcosolium. The latter is "illud sæpe supra memoratum rotundum tegurium." Concerning the interior of the "Monumentum" or "mausoleum Salvatoris" he observes that "speleum sive spelunca recte vocitari possit, de quo . . . propheta vaticinatur dicens; hic habitabit in excelsa spelunca petræ fortissimæ" (Isa. xxxiii. 16), and (p. 232) that "nullo intrinsecus ornatu tectum usque hodie per totam eius cavaturam ferramentorum ostendit vestigia."

"Tomb of Absalom," which is assigned by archæologists to the Herodian epoch—i.e. 37 B.C.–A.D. 66.[1] Etheria (A.D. 385) and Antoninus of Placentia (*circ.* A.D. 570) mention only one lamp as kept continually burning in the Sepulchral chamber. Arculf speaks of twelve.[2] Some provision must have been made for ventilation, most probably by means of holes cut in the roof of the chamber, with corresponding vents in the gilded outer roof.[3]

It is not clear whether the "ornamenta infinita" mentioned by Antoninus of Placentia as suspended upon iron rods were so suspended within or without the Sepulchre. In mediæval and modern times the ornamentation of the monument has been both external and internal.[4]

Appendix to § B.

Dimensions of the Sepulchral Chamber ("spelunca interior," "cavatura monumenti Dominici": Geyer,

[1] Willis in *H.C.* II. pp. 157–160, with Plates V. and VI. The lower part of this monument, containing the burial-chamber, is cut out of the natural rock. The upper part is mason's work.

[2] Geyer, pp. 72, 171 (and 203), 229. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the number had increased to more than forty: see *H.C.* II. p. 170; Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem* (A.D. 1806).

[3] Possibly the thickness of the rock-ceiling was diminished as much as possible, in order to facilitate the cutting of these holes.

[4] See, for example, Khitrowo, *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, t. I. pp. 13–14, 170–171, 213–214; Covel, *Account of the Greek Church*, Pref. pp. liii.–liv.; Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 160–170; Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, Plate VII. and plate facing p. 264 below.

pp. 72, 232). The following measurements were reported by the English travellers Richardson and Scoles, who visited Jerusalem, the former in 1822, the latter in 1825 (see Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 165, 169).

Height, 8 ft. 6 in.; *Length*, 6 ft. 8 in.; *Breadth*, 6 ft. 1 in.

Length of the *loculus* or recess, 6 ft. 1⅜ in.
Breadth „ „ „ „ 3 ft. 0¾ in.
Height above pavement . . 2 ft. 1¼ in.

Allowance must be made for the marble covering of the floor and the sides of the chamber, and for the fact that the rock-ceiling has disappeared. The rock-ceiling was most probably hewn away in A.D. 1010; see Part III. ch. i.

C. The Court. (Plate A, facing p. 96 above.)

To the east of the Anastasis-Church extended an open court or *atrium*, paved with marble, and surrounded on three sides by colonnades forming porticoes. The sides along which the porticoes were erected were the northern, western, and southern, and the western portico was bent round the curve of the Anastasis-Church. The eastern side of the court was occupied, mainly if not entirely, by the western façade of the Martyrion or great basilica, which Eusebius regards as the chief glory of Constantine's "New Jerusalem."[1] The line along which the *northern* portico ran is supposed to be

[1] Eusebius, *Vita Const.* III. 35–36. The relation of the western portico to the Anastasis has been dealt with above, § A. See the plan of Constantine's buildings in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 379 (July, 1899), p. 112.

nearly, if not quite, identical with that of the gallery which in the existing Church of the Sepulchre runs from the north transept of the "Rotunda" or Anastasis to the "Prison of Christ."[1] It is uncertain whether this "Prison of Christ" was originally a tomb or a cistern.[2] There is no mention of it in any record older than the brief description of the Church of the Sepulchre drawn up by the monk Epiphanius about A.D. 840.[3] The line of the *western* portico, south of the Anastasis, cannot have been drawn much further west than a line running north and south through the centre of the Anastasis-Church, for the ground does not appear

[1] Compare the plans in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 379, pp. 112, 117, 120; Williams, *H.C.* II. Plates I. and II. (pp. 288–289), and I. p. 446. "There can be little doubt that this is the remains of a cloister which bounded the open area upon which the Crusaders' choir was afterwards built"; Willis in Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 208–209.

[2] Willis in op. cit., l.c.; Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. pp. 753, 755 (Sept. 24, 1910).

[3] *Epiphanii Periegesis* (Dressler: Leipzig, 1843): πλησίον τοῦ Ἁγίου Τάφου ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος τοῦ Κρανίου . . . καὶ μέσον αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ὁ κῆπος τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, καὶ πρὸς βορρᾶν τοῦ κήπου ἐστὶν ἡ φυλακή, ὅπου ἦν ὁ Χριστὸς ὑποκεκλεισμένος, καὶ Βαραβᾶς. Epiphanius identifies the court with Joseph's garden. The "Prison" was discovered or identified in order to provide fulfilment in the story of the Passion for Psa. lxxxviii. 7–8 (in LXX. and Vulg. lxxxvii. 7 and 9: ἔθεντό με ἐν λάκκῳ κατωτάτῳ . . . παρεδόθην καὶ οὐκ ἐξεπορευόμην—posuerunt me in lacu inferiori . . . traditus sum et non egrediebar): cf. Saewulf, quoted in *H.C.* II. p. 273; carcer ubi D.N. Iesus Christus post traditionem incarceratus fuit, testantibus Assiriis—these "Assirii" being Syrians, perhaps Jacobites.

to have been levelled further west. It may possibly have coincided with the western side of the existing *atrium* or "parvis," through which lies the common approach to Golgotha and the Sepulchre.[1] The line of the *southern* portico is even more uncertain. It must indeed have run outside, i.e. to the south of, Golgotha, but how far outside there is nothing to show, unless perchance it is the line of the street known in the epoch of the Crusades as "Palmer Street" and now as "Tannery Street" (Haret-el-Debbaghîn).[2] The Martyrion or great basilica must have extended sufficiently far from the *Via Quintana* on the east towards the Anastasis on the west to cover the place where the Cross—or what was believed to be the Cross—had been discovered.[3] This arrangement would bring the *eastern* side of court to a line passing north and south through the eastern ambulatory of the existing church—or, more exactly, of the "Choir of the Canons" built by the Crusaders in the twelfth century.[4]

[1] Plans in *H.C.* II. Plate II.; *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 805 (Oct. 22, 1910); Watson, *Jerusalem*, p. 276; and frontispiece of this book.

[2] Plans referred to in the last note: see also *H.C.* I. Suppl. pp. 17–18, and Plate C, below.

[3] *Quarterly Review*, No. 379 (July, 1899), plan on p. 112. Compare the relation of Constantine's basilica at Bethlehem to the "Cave of the Nativity" (plan in Conder, *Syrian Stone-Lore*, p. 297; views of the church and the cave in Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, Plates IX. and X.).

[4] Cf. plan in *Quarterly Review*, No. 379, p. 120, or in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 805.

The ground thus laid out as an open court by Constantine's builders is now occupied—for the most part, at any rate—by this "Choir of the Canons," now the cathedral of the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the buildings immediately to the south-east of the Golgotha-Chapel.[1]

D. THE MARTYRION.

Eusebius employs the term *martyrion* (μαρτύριον), meaning "testimony" or "memorial" in speaking of the Holy Sepulchre as well as of the great church which faced it across the court.[2] Cyril of Jerusalem describes the whole group of buildings which enclosed Golgotha and the Sepulchre as a *Martyrion*.[3] By the end of the fourth century the practice had become established of using the term to designate only the great church on the eastern side of the court, facing the Anastasis and the Sepulchre. This is the use of the term in the pilgrim-narratives of Etheria (fourth century), Eucherius (fifth century), and Arculf (eighth century).[4]

[1] Compare the plan in *Q.R.* No. 379, p. 112 with the plan on p. 120, and Plate A with Plate C in this book.

[2] Eus. *V.C.* cc. 28, 40.

[3] Cyril, *Catech.* xiv. 6; see p. 77, n. 2.

[4] *Peregrinatio Etheriæ*, cc. 25. 1, 27. 3, 30. 1 and 3, 39. 2, 43. 2, 48. 1, 49. 3 in Geyer, op. cit.; pp. 495–498, 500, 504, 507, 517, 519, 520 in Duchesne, op. cit. Note esp. c. 30. 1: in ecclesia maiore, quæ appellatur Martyrium. Propterea autem Martyrium appellatur, *quia in Golgotha est*, id est post Crucem, *et ideo*

The earliest extant description of the building is contained in the Bordeaux Pilgrim's *Itinerary*. Close by the place of our Lord's Resurrection,[1] he says " a basilica, that is, a house of the Lord,[2] of marvellous beauty has lately been built by command of Constantine the Emperor. By the side of it there are cisterns, from which water is drawn, and behind it is a bath, where infants are washed." [3]

The Bordeaux Pilgrim's statement with regard to cisterns (*excepturia*) has been confirmed by modern investigations, which have brought to light three ancient cisterns excavated in the rock, between the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the

Martyrio. Etheria, in fact, uses *Martyrium* in speaking of this building very much as she uses it in speaking of memorials or monuments of holy men and women.—the *Martyrium* of S. Thomas at Edessa, for example; of S. John at Ephesus; of S. Euphemia at Chalcedon (cc. 19 and 23). Eucherius: see Geyer, p. 126; Arculf: Geyer, p. 234.

[1] I have taken the liberty of thus rendering " ibidem," since it is quite certain (e.g. from Eusebius' account) that the Martyrion or " Basilica Constantini " was not built over the Sepulchre; though the Bordeaux Pilgrim, having mentioned the " cripta " in which the Lord's body was laid, proceeds immediately to say " *ibidem* modo iussu Constantini Imperatoris basilica facta est " (Geyer, op. cit. p. 23). See p. 76, n. 5, and p. 99, n. 1, above.

[2] Basilica . . . id est dominicum." The word dominicum = κυριακόν. Compare κυριακά = churches, in Eusebius, *H.E.* IX. 5 and 10 (Edict of Maximin): Can. Concil. Laodicens. xxviii. (repeated in Can. Concil. Quinisext. lxxiv.) οὐ δεῖ ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὰς λεγομένας ἀγάπας ποιεῖν.

[3] Habens ad latus excepturia, unde aqua levatur, et balneum a tergo, ubi infantes lavantur.

Khan-ez-Zeit. The position of two of these indicates that they would have flanked the basilica if, as may be assumed for certain, its western portion was built over the crypt (itself an ancient cistern) in which the reputed discovery of the Lord's Cross took place.[1] If the bath (*balneum*), where children were washed, was a baptistery, one is inclined to wonder why the Bordeaux Pilgrim was not more explicit. The position of this building is not very definitely indicated, but possibly "behind" (a tergo) may mean "to the north."[2]

The "royal house," as Eusebius calls the great church on the east side of the Court of the Sepulchre, was "a marvellous great work" (ἔργον ἐξαίσιον). Within the building, the walls were covered with slabs or plaques of variegated marble; without, they were constructed of polished stone, so accurately laid and joined as to present an appearance not less splendid and brilliant. The roof was covered with lead; the coffered ceiling within was overlaid from end to end with gold, and filled the holy house with its reflected radiance.[3]

[1] See the map of Jerusalem in G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. I.

[2] It does not seem probable that the *balneum* is to be identified with the so-called "Pool of Hezekiah," which lies south-west of the Sepulchre Church, between it and the Jaffa Gate (G. A. Smith, op. cit. vol. I., map of the city, and pp. 114–115; Williams, *H.C.* I. Suppl. pp. 18–19).

[3] Eus. *V.C.* III, 36.

The church had double aisles, and these again were divided horizontally into upper and lower galleries. The ceilings of these aisles, like that of the main body of the church, were overlaid with gold. The upper galleries in these aisles were supported upon pillars set the length of the "house," and piers set in rows parallel to these pillars.[1]

The floor of the sanctuary or presbyterion, which occupied the westernmost part of the basilica, was raised some space above the floor-level of the rest of the building. It is described in the *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* as supported upon nine columns, but there must have been other means of support besides these. Possibly the front of the sanctuary, i.e. the eastern end, the end

[1] Id. op. cit. III. 37 : ἀμφὶ δ' ἑκάτερα τὰ πλευρὰ στοῶν διττῶν, ἀναγείων τε καὶ καταγείων, δίδυμοι παρασπάδες τῷ μήκει τοῦ νεὼ συνεξετείνοντο, χρυσῷ καὶ αὗται τοὺς ὀρόφους πεποικιλμέναι. ὧν αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ προσώπου τοῦ οἴκου κίοσι παμμεγεθέσιν ἐπηρείδοντο, αἱ δ' εἴσω τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπὸ [? ἐπὶ] πεσσοῖς ἀνηγείροντο, πολὺν τὸν ἔξωθεν περιβεβλημένοις κόσμον. The proper interpretation of this passage, and indeed its true wording, must always be conjectural. I have followed Willis' interpretation, given in Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 249 (see also Plate I. Fig. 2). The piers (πεσσοί) are understood as having separated the inner from the outer aisles. With the double aisles of this basilica compare those of the basilica at Bethlehem and of S. Paul's Without and the original S. Peter's at Rome (see Conder, *Syrian Stone-Lore*, p. 297 ; Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, art. "Church" ; Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church*, Figs. 26h, 29 and 30 ; note also Fig. 26, f and g). There is nothing to show that the basilica at Jerusalem was constructed with a transept.

adjoining that part of the church in which the congregation stood, was supported upon a row of nine columns. Behind these columns, and under the floor of the sanctuary, we may suppose the approach to the crypt in which the three crosses were believed to have been found.[1]

At the *west* end of the church, and forming (in Eusebius' view) the head of the whole work, there was an apse, adorned with twelve columns supporting a semi-dome. The columns were adorned with silver capitals.[2] According to the *Breviarius de Hierosolyma*, the apse was built over the place where the three crosses were found.[3] It is doubtful whether a large building, such as the Martyrion

[1] *Brev. de Hierosol.* (Geyer, p. 153): In medio civitatis est basilica Constantini. In introitu basilicæ ipsius ad sinistram partem est cubiculus, ubi crux Domini posita est. Et inde intras in ecclesiam Sancti Constantini. Magna ab occidente est absida, ubi inventæ sunt tres cruces. Est ibi desuper altare de argento et auro puro et novem columnæ, quæ sustinent illud altare et ipsa absida.

[2] Eus. *V.C.* III. 38: τούτων δ' ἄντικρυς [he has just been writing of the entrance doors, which were set in the east wall] ὁ κεφάλαιον τοῦ παντὸς ἡμισφαίριον ἦν ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ βασιλείου τεταγμένον, ὃ δὴ δυοκαίδεκα κίονες ἐστεφάνουν, τοῖς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀποστόλοις ἰσάριθμοι, κρατῆρσι μεγίστοις ἐξ ἀργυρίου πεποιημένοις τὰς κορυφὰς κοσμούμενοι, οὓς δὴ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ἀνάθημα κάλλιστον ἐδωρεῖτο τῷ αὐτοῦ Θεῷ. *Brev. de Hierosol.*: magna ab occidente est absida . . . in circuitu duodecim columnæ marmoreæ; super ipsas columnas hydriæ argenteæ duodecim, ubi sigillavit Salomon dæmones. The apse is also mentioned by Etheria; see Geyer, p. 98, and Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, pp. 520 and 575.

[3] See last note but one.

certainly was, with its *western* end set over the subterranean cistern pointed out now, and ever since the epoch of the Crusades, as the place of the "Inventio Sanctæ Crucis" would have left any space at its *eastern* end for an *atrium* or court between it and the Market-Street, such as Eusebius describes, as we shall very soon see.[1] The upper crypt or Chapel of Helena has undergone numerous changes since the fourth century, but there is nothing to indicate that the entrance or descent into it (and through it into the lower crypt, the crypt of the "Inventio") was ever made from any other side than the *west*. This upper crypt was counted as part of the "place of the finding of the Cross," and the Martyrion must have been so built as to cover it, and to include its western as well as its other sides. The statement made by the compiler of the *Breviarius* should be understood in the sense that the sanctuary or presbyterion of the basilica lay over these crypts—more directly, perhaps, over the upper than over the lower one.

In addition to the supposed approach under the front of the sanctuary, there may have been an approach (through arches in the apse) from the

[1] The distance from a line coinciding with the west wall of the lower crypt to the Khan-ez-Zeit (part of the Tarik el-Amud, the modern representative of the Market-Street of the fourth century) is not more than 180 feet. See the plan in Sir C. Watson's *Jerusalem*, opp. p. 276.

great court. Those who entered under the front of the sanctuary would have to pass under the length of that part of the basilica into the apse or up to the western end-wall, and there descend steps leading down into the upper crypt or Helena-Chapel.[1] The Martyrion stood to the crypt of the "Inventio" in a relation analogous to that of the basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem to the cave identified as the place where the Saviour was born and laid in a manger, or that of the basilica on Olivet to the cave in which it was believed that he had instructed his disciples in the mysteries of the Kingdom and had spoken to them of the signs that should portend the last days.[2] At the present time there are two apsidal recesses in the east side of the Helena-Chapel, and in one of them an altar. The place where a third apse might otherwise have been cut is occupied by the opening from which descend the steps leading to the lower crypt, the crypt of the "Inventio." It is impossible to say for certain

[1] There may have been two flights of steps, running down the north and south sides of the upper crypt respectively.

[2] Eusebius, *V.C.* III. 43; Etheria, cc. 30. 3, 33. 2, 35. 3, 43. 6 (Geyer, pp. 83, 84, 86, 94; Duchesne, pp. 505, 506, 508, 513, 517); Eucherius (Geyer, p. 127). Compare also the relation of Constantine's basilica of S. Peter to the crypt in which lay the bones of the Apostle (Lowrie, op. cit. pp. 161–164). For the Bethlehem basilica and the Cave of the Nativity, see Conder, *Syrian Stone-Lore*, p. 297; Baedeker-Socin, *Palestine*, pp. 246, 248.

when these recesses were first cut and an altar first placed here, but there is no evidence to show that the crypt was arranged as a chapel in the Roman epoch.[1]

In the eastern end-wall were set three doors for the entrances and exits of the worshippers. The approach to these doors lay across a second *atrium*, occupying the space between the basilica and the Market-Street. This court had porticoes and chambers on either side (i.e. north and south) and between it and the street there was a grand gateway.[2]

[1] Etheria says nothing of any devotions in the crypts under the basilica. The ceremony of the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday (Geyer, p. 88; Duchesne, p. 510) took place in a building which either adjoined or enclosed the *monticulus Golgothæ*. The ogival vaulting and arches now to be seen in the Helena-Chapel date at the earliest from the epoch of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (twelfth century); the pillars supporting them can hardly be dated earlier than the sixth century and may only date from the thirteenth (see p. 255). There is no reason to suppose that the Helena-Chapel was roofed over when it was already covered by the Martyrion.

[2] Eusebius, *V.C.* III. 37: πύλαι δὲ τρεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον εὖ διακείμεναι τὰ πλήθη τῶν εἴσω φερομένων ὑπεδέχοντο. c. 39: ἔνθεν δὲ προϊόντων ἐπὶ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ νεὼ κειμένας εἰσόδους αἴθριον διελάμβανεν ἄλλο, ἐξέδραι δ' ἦσαν ἐνταυθοῖ παρ' ἑκάτερα καὶ αὐλὴ πρώτη, στοαὶ δ'ἐπὶ ταύτῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αἱ αὔλειοι πύλαι, μεθ' ἃς ἐπ' αὐτῆς μέσης πλατείας [ἀγορᾶς] τὰ τοῦ παντὸς προπύλαια φιλοκάλως ἠσκημένα. Etheria, c. 43. 7 (Geyer, p. 95; Duchesne, p. 517: return of the people from the station upon Olivet, evening of Whitsunday): et apertis balvis [i.e. valvis] maioribus quæ sunt de quintana parte, omnis populus intrat in Martyrium. By *exedræ* we must understand chambers for various purposes: vid. infra. The word ἀγορᾶς in Euseb. *V.C.* III. 39 appears to be a gloss upon πλατείας,

Certain broken remains of a wall, and of a row of columns close by, embedded or enclosed in buildings situated on the west side of the Khan-ez-Zeit (a section of the Tarik Bab-el-Amud, on or near the line of the old Market-Street) about sixty yards from the centre of the open place which now lies over the Helena-Chapel, have been identified as fragments of the east wall of the Martyrion and a portico added by Modestus when he rebuilt the church in A.D. 615–629, after its destruction by the Persians. Mr. G. Jeffery, architect of the Anglican Cathedral of St. George at Jerusalem, found that the wall had all the appearance of being Roman work of the fourth century. "The largeness of the parts," he says, "the scale of the masonry, and the evidence of the dowel holes, which correspond with the statement of Eusebius about the marble on the external walls of the Martyrium, are all characteristic of that period." On the other hand, "the colonnade is on a very different scale and evidently belongs to the poor rebuilding of the seventh century by Modestus and S. John Eleïmon. The two oldest representations of the basilica hitherto discovered, viz.; the apse-

and μέσης must be understood as referring to the position of the πλατεῖα in the midst of the city. With the orientation of the Martyrion, compare that of S. Peter's in Rome, the great church at Tyre, and the Church of S. Felix at Nola; see Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church*, pp. 176–8.

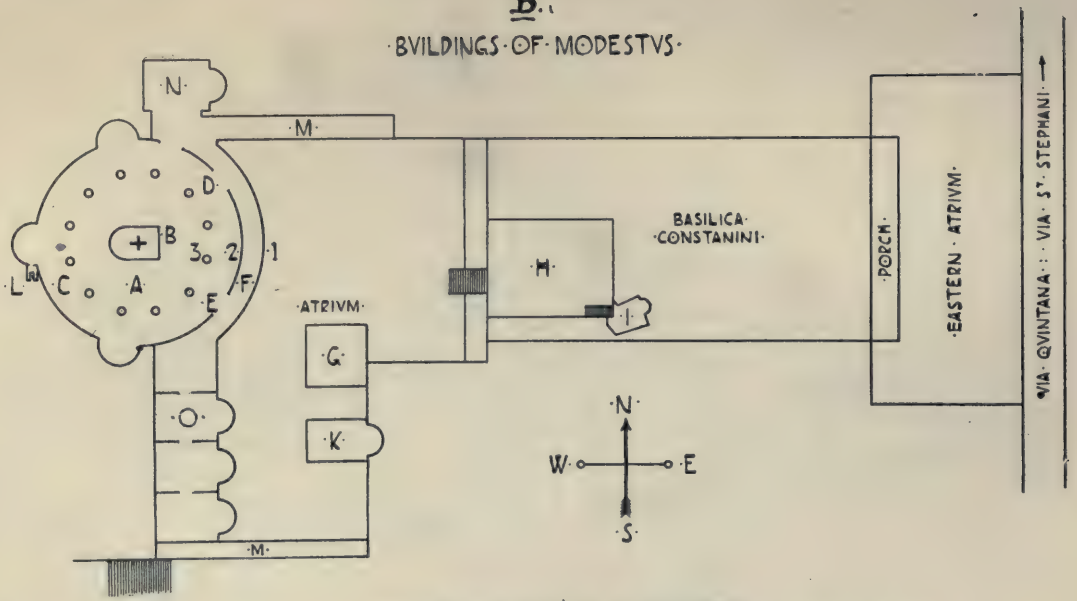

PLATE B.—BUILDINGS OF MODESTUS.

A. Anastasis (ecclesia rotunda).
B. Sepulchre.
C. Ambulatory of Anastasis, with recesses.
D. North-east entrance of Anastasis.
E. South-east entrance of Anastasis.
F. Colonnade on E curve of Anastasis.
1, 2, 3. Arculf's "three walls."
G. Golgotha.
H. Crypt of S. Helena, below the basilica.
I. Crypt of the Inventio Crucis, below H.
K. Church of S. Mary or the Descent from the Cross.
L. Tomb of Nicodemus and Joseph.
M, M. Colonnades.
N. Chapel of S. Mary the Virgin.
O. Chapel of the Forty Martyrs.

[*To face page* 128.

mosaic of S. Pudentiana at Rome and the rude attempt to show the buildings on the famous Madeba mosaic, clearly give the impression that the Martyrium was originally designed without any portico covering the great eastern doors. This must have been added in the seventh century, and within a few years the Caliph Omar appropriated the new feature in the buildings for his mosque." [1]

From the position of this wall in relation to the Khan-ez-Zeit it is to be inferred that the Market-Street or Via Quintana of Ælia ran somewhat further to the east than the Khan-ez-Zeit; otherwise there would not have been room enough for a court, save one in which the length (north to south) would have been altogether disproportionate to the breadth (west to east). The mention of annexed chambers (*exedræ*) [2] is a feature common to Eusebius' descriptions of the Martyrion at Jerusalem, the Church of the Holy Apostles built by Constantine at Con-

[1] G. Jeffery, in the *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. pp. 759–760 (Sept. 24, 1910). The wall and columns examined and described by Mr. Jeffery were at the time (1897) enclosed in a Russian church adjoining the house occupied by the Russian Palestine Society. Schulz (Prussian Consul in Jerusalem, 1845), followed by Professor Willis, thought that the columns were remains of the propylæa—see Willis in Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 250. The appropriation of the portico as a Moslem praying-place by Omar is certified by a Cufic inscription found on the wall identified as the east wall of the Martyrion, in May, 1897 (see Jeffery, *J.R.I.B.A.* l.c.).

[2] See text quoted on p. 127, n. 2.

stantinople, and the great churches of Antioch and Tyre.[1] Some of these chambers must have been used as baptisteries; others as bath-rooms in which the "baptidiandi," as Etheria calls them, washed themselves before baptism—a needful preliminary, for they had abstained from bathing (except perhaps on Saturdays and Sundays) since the beginning of Lent.[2] The Bordeaux Pilgrim [3] mentions "excepturia, unde aqua levatur," as visible by the side (perhaps indeed on both sides) of the Martyrion, and "balneum a tergo, ubi infantes lavantur." The "excepturia" (i.e. cisterns) may have supplied water, not only for the "balneum" and baptisteries, but also for a fountain set in the middle of the *atrium* before the basilica.[4] It is possible that the "balneum" mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim was *a* baptistery (if not *the* baptistery), for "infantes," is used by Etheria in the sense of "newly baptized," and the newly-baptized spoken

[1] Eus. *V.C.* IV. 58–60, III. 50; *H.E.* X. 4.

[2] *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (Smith and Cheetham), art. "Bathing."

[3] Geyer, p. 23. See p. 121, note 2, above.

[4] Such fountains were provided in Constantine's great church at Tyre (Eus. *H.E.* X. 4); in the Church of the Apostles built by him at Constantinople (Socrates, *H.E.* II. 38); in the basilica of S. Felix at Nola (Paulinus, *Ep.* 32); in that of S. Peter at Rome (Paulinus, *Ep.* 13; Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church*, pp. 169–170), and in Justinian's Sancta Sophia at Constantinople. See *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, art. "Fountains at the entrance of Churches."

of in her narrative were adults—at any rate they were not "infants" in the ordinary sense of the term.[1] If, however, the use of "balneum" for "baptisterium" cannot be allowed, the building in question may have been a bath-house such as Eusebius mentions in his description of the Church of the Apostles built by Constantine in Constantinople, and the *Liber Pontificalis* in connection with the churches of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, S. Stephen, and S. Peter (the Vatican basilica) in Rome.[2] "A tergo" must mean either "on the north side" or "on the south side." It cannot mean the *east* side, as that was the *front* of the Martyrion, and on the west was the open court ("locus subdivanus") between the Martyrion, the Anastasis-Church, and the Golgotha-rock surmounted by the memorial cross.[3]

[1] Etheria, c. 39. 3 (Geyer, p. 91; Duchesne, p. 513): episcopus cum omni clero et omnibus infantibus, id est qui baptidiati fuerint—compare c. 38. 1 (Geyer, p. 90; Duchesne, p. 512) and cc. 46, 47 (Geyer, pp. 97–99, Duchesne, pp. 519–522).

[2] *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, arts. "Bath," "Bathing," and Eusebius, *V.C.* IV. 59.

[3] "Subdivanus locus"—see Etheria, c. 37. 4 (Geyer, p. 89; Duchesne, p. 511).

Immediately to the north of the Rotunda or Anastasis-Church there is a cistern, called the Well of S. Helena, which is always full of water (see Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 204; Baedeker-Socin *Palestine*, p. 197). If the "Prison of Christ" was originally not a tomb, but a cistern (Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 209) it may be one of the "excepturia" mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim.

E. GOLGOTHA.

The conical eminence surmounted by a cross, which occupies a prominent position in the foreground of the apse-mosaic of S. Pudentiana, is no doubt intended to represent the "monticulus Golgotha" mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim.[1] As a matter of fact, there is no evidence, apart from the mosaic, of the existence of such a conical eminence in the area occupied by Constantine's buildings. If the existing Greek Chapel of Golgotha, with its annexes, were removed, there would be brought to light, not a conical mound, but a mass of rock hewn on three sides into a squared form, and terminating a ridge sloping upwards from east to west.[2] It is possible that the ridge once continued up to the level on which runs Patriarch Street, and that it was cut away, westward of the point now occupied by the Golgotha-Chapel, when the *atrium* was laid out between the Anastasis and the Martyrion.[3]

The conical hill or knoll, therefore, in the S. Pudentiana mosaic must be understood as a symbolic

Another and much larger cistern, near the remains of the east wall of the Martyrion and Modestus' portico, was examined by Schulz and George Williams about seventy-five years ago (*H.C.* II. p. 255).

[1] Geyer, p. 22.

[2] Willis in Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 230–231, 240, and Plate I. Fig. 1.

[3] In that case, the Venus-temple built by Hadrian might have been built in part upon the ridge.

representation of the place identified as Golgotha. On the other hand, there is plenty of evidence in Etheria's narrative for the existence of a monumental cross on this site in the Roman epoch.[1] This cross was enclosed in some sort of building, but it is not certain that this building was roofed over. Arculf speaks of a memorial cross, standing on the place identified as Golgotha, and enclosed in a building which he describes as a church (*ecclesia*).[2]

This description suggests a roofed building, but it must be remembered that Arculf speaks of the hypæthral building upon the summit of Olivet as an "ecclesia" and a "basilica,"[3] and it is possible that the "rotunda *ecclesia*, quæ Anastasis vocitatur," when he saw it, was quite as open to the sky, in its central portion, as the Church on Olivet.

At the base of the Golgotha-rock there is a cave —perhaps originally part of a rock-tomb—hewn into the form of an apse, and now constituting the eastern part of the "Chapel of Adam." A fissure in the rock is visible on the south side of the altar of the Greek Golgotha-Chapel above, and in the back of this rock-hewn apse below. Tradition asserts that it was made by the earthquake recorded in S. Matthew's account of the Crucifixion, and that

[1] Geyer, pp. 72–95, *passim*; Duchesne, p. 491. See ch. IV, pp. 78, 79, above.

[2] Geyer, p. 233; Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 3.

[3] Geyer, p. 246.

through it our Saviour's blood flowed down upon the skull of Adam, who lay buried in this crypt or cavern, and caused him to rise from the dead.[1]

The tradition which represents Golgotha as the burial-place of Adam may be traced back in Christian literature to the days of Origen, who cited it as a Hebrew tradition in his commentary on S. Matthew.[2]

It is mentioned in the *Letter of Paula and Eustochium* (disciples of Jerome) *to Marcella*, which is included among the letters of Jerome,[3] but that divine himself called it in question, and asserted that Adam's tomb was at Hebron.[4] Augustine held the same belief as Jerome respecting the tomb of Adam.[5] The *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* testifies to the existence of yet another tradition, viz. one which affirmed that Golgotha was the place where Adam was created.[6] The Jewish tradition appears to have related that Solomon by his excellent wisdom

[1] Saewulf in *H.C.* II. p. 273 n.; Wright, op. cit. p. 38. Cf. the statements of the Russian pilgrims Daniel (A.D. 1106), Grethenios (A.D. 1400), and Basil Posniakov (A.D. 1560) in Khitrowo, *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, tom. I. pp. 14–15, 170, 311 (publs. of the Société de l'Orient Latin).

[2] Origenis Comment. in Ev. Matthæi, c. 126 (Migne, *Origen*, t. III. p. 920, col. 1777).

[3] Hieronymi Ep. No. xlvi.

[4] Hieronymi Comm. in Ev. Matth. xxvii. 33; Comm. in Ep. ad Ephes. v. 14.

[5] Cited by Saewulf (ref. in n. 1).

[6] "Golgotha . . . ubi plasmatus est Adam."

ascertained the place where Adam's skull lay buried, and that thenceforth the place was called "the Skull." In the interval between the Moslem Conquest and the Crusades (A.D. 637–1099) the tradition representing Golgotha as Adam's burial-place became firmly established in Jerusalem, if it was not by way of becoming so even before the former epoch. Arculf follows the Hieronymian tradition—which means that at the time of his visit to the Holy Land, i.e. about A.D. 670, it was on the whole prevalent there.[1] Saewulf, coming to Jerusalem A.D. 1102, mentions the Hieronymian tradition, but quotes the other (viz. that Golgotha was Adam's burial-place) as the local tradition of Jerusalem.[2] From the fifteenth century onwards Golgotha is generally accepted both by Latins and by Greeks as the *sepulcrum protoplasti*.[3]

[1] Geyer, p. 260; Wright, p. 7.

[2] See ref. in n. 1, p. 134.

[3] Willis in *H.C.* II. p. 231n. With the double tradition respecting the burial-place of Adam, compare the double traditions respecting the burial-places of the Virgin Mary and S. John the Almsgiver. One tradition places the tomb of the Virgin in the Valley of the Kedron; another places it in the vicinity of Ephesus. Venice and Pressburg dispute the honour of being custodians of the tomb of S. John the Almsgiver (Patriarch of Alexandria at the time of the Persian conquest of Syria and Egypt, A.D. 614–616).

Part II

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE,

A.D. 614–1010

CHAPTER I

THE PERSIAN AND SARACEN CONQUESTS OF JERUSALEM

THE buildings erected by Constantine in the course of the years C.E. 326–335 upon the sites identified as Golgotha and Joseph's Garden were plundered and burnt in A.D. 614 by the Persian army which had invaded Palestine and captured Jerusalem.[1] No exact account of the extent of the destruction wrought upon the buildings has survived. The conflagration might of itself have inflicted very considerable injury upon work in stone or marble, as one may infer from descriptions of the effects of the great fire which broke out in the Church of the Sepulchre on October 12, A.D. 1808.[2] It is impossible to say for certain whether the Persians did or did not make use of other instruments of demolition besides fire, but the description given by the Frank pilgrim Arculf of the buildings which he saw about

[1] Gibbon, ch. xlvi.; Williams, *Holy City*, I. pp. 300–301; H. Gelzer, *Leontios v. Neapolis*, pp. 37, 136–137.

[2] Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 88, 282–285. The Anastasis suffered structural injuries so severe that it had to be almost entirely rebuilt. The work of reconstruction, which occupied about two years, was completed by September, 1811.

sixty years later may be understood as implying that the Persians left a good deal of the masons' work of the Anastasis and the Martyrion standing, though they certainly made a clean sweep of everything that was easily portable.[1] The chief piece among all the plunder was the wood of the Lord's Cross, which was preserved in a silver casket provided for the purpose by the Empress Helena.[2]

The Persians committed great barbarities in the capture and sacking of Jerusalem, but it must be remembered that they did not act altogether without provocation. The city had at first capitulated, and accepted a Persian governor. Then, some months later, an insurrection took place and the Persian governor was killed. This brought down upon the community the wrath of the Persian commander-in-chief, and for three days the Holy City was a scene of massacre and pillage. Fifty-seven thousand persons are said to have been put to the sword,

[1] Doubtless all the buildings were stripped of their roofs. That of the Martyrion was covered with lead (Eusebius, *Vita Const.* III. 36).

[2] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* I. 17. The relic, in its silver casket, was kept in a chamber adjoining the north side of the *atrium* or court between the Martyrion and the Via Quintana. See the *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* and *Antonini Itinerarium*, c. 20 in Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, pp. 153, 172, 204. For the relation of the Martyrion to the Via Quintana or Market-Street, see Eusebius, *Vita Const.* III. 39, *Etheriæ Peregrinatio*, c. 43, cited in Part I. ch. v. D. p. 127, n. 2, Mr. Jeffery's plan in the *Quarterly Review*, July, 1899, p. 113, and Plate A in this book.

while thirty-five thousand were made prisoners of war.[1] Among the captives were Zacharias, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Stavrophylax—i.e. the official who had charge of the relic of the Cross Patriarch, Stavrophylax, and Cross went into captivity together beyond the Euphrates, and in captivity they abode for fifteen years.[2]

Jerusalem had once again justified the character given her by Rehum the chancellor and Shimshai the scribe in the days of Artaxerxes King of Persia.[3] Artaxerxes' successor,[4] however, gave orders that the city should be built up again and the inhabitants sent back to their homes. In the absence of the Patriarch, the Church of Jerusalem was governed by Modestus, elected temporary administrator of the see.[5] For the restoration of the Church of the Holy

[1] These numbers relate only to Christians. At the time of the Persian invasion of Palestine, there was apparently a considerable Jewish population in Jerusalem. Many of these were killed in the insurrection ; the rest fled from the city. Jews are said to have been very active in the subsequent massacre and plundering.

[2] Sebeôs, an Armenian historian, quoted at length by Gelzer, *Leontios von Neapolis*, pp. 135–137. The Persians, according to his statement, stormed the city on May 19, after a siege of nearly three weeks.

[3] Ezra iv. 12, 15 ; " the rebellious city."

[4] Chosroes II. (Khusru Parviz) : r. A.D. 591–628.

[5] Sebeôs, ap. Gelzer, l.c. Modestus was not Patriarch (as Leontius of Neapolis calls him), but τοποτηρητὴς τοῦ θρόνου. See Gelzer's notes on Leontius' *Life of John the Almoner*, c. 20 (*Leontios von Neapolis*, pp. 37, 137).

Sepulchre Modestus probably obtained special authorization from the Persian King. He certainly received assistance from John "the Almoner," Patriarch of Alexandria, who sent workmen, materials, money, and food, with a request that his name might be nowhere inscribed upon the restored buildings, but that prayer should be made to Christ for its inscription among the names of the blessed.[1]

The reconquest of Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt from the Persian invader did not begin until A.D. 622 [2] and took six years to accomplish. When the burning and plundering of the churches in Jerusalem had been avenged by the sack of the Persian King's palace at Dastagerd in Assyria, the way was opened for the return of the captives. The relic of the Cross was borne in solemn procession into the Holy City by the victorious Emperor Heraclius himself, walking barefoot and in mean attire, on September 14th, A.D. 629, the two hundred and ninety-fourth anniversary of the dedication of Constantine's Anastasis and Martyrion.[3] From the Christian point of view, Heraclius' campaigns for the recovery of his eastern

[1] Leontius, c. 20. Williams, *H.C.* I. pp. 303–304.

[2] The year of Mohammed's flight from Mecca to Medina. There is a reference in the Koran to the Persian successes: see ch. 30, "the Romans have been overcome by the Persians in the nearest part of their land, but after their defeat they shall overcome the others in their turn within a few years." (*Sale.*)

[3] Williams, *H.C.* I. pp. 304–305.

provinces had been a holy war.[1] His victories over the Persians are commemorated in the Greek observance of September 14th. With reason and justice, his name may be placed at the head of the list of Crusading princes.[2] Unhappily it must also be acknowledged that he inaugurated the practice of associating a Crusade with cruelty towards the Jews.[3] Was it because he, having humbled himself to bear the relic of the Cross on his shoulder, took bloody vengeance upon the Jews of Palestine for welcoming and aiding his enemies,—was it because of this turning of judgment into injustice that his days were prolonged until he saw Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, which he had rescued from the yoke of the Persian, pass under that of the Saracen?[4]

Within ten years from his triumphal return to Constantinople after his final victory over the Persians and the solemn restoration of the wood of the Cross to its resting-place in Jerusalem, all Syria had been wrested from the Roman Empire by the enthusiasts of the new religion which had been founded in Arabia by an unlettered camel-driver in the years which had witnessed the last, and the

[1] Paparrigopoulos, *Ἱστ. τ. Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους*, vol. V. pp. 227–228, 257–261.

[2] Comp. G. W. Cox, *The Crusades*, ch. i.

[3] Williams, *H.C.* I. l.c.

[4] Heraclius died in A.D. 641. Jerusalem was taken by the Saracens in A.D. 637, Antioch in A.D. 638, Alexandria in A.D. 640.

most exhausting, of the long series of contests between the Roman and the Persian Empire.[1] Jerusalem capitulated to the Khalif Omar after a siege of four months in the winter of A.D. 636–637. Sophronius, the Patriarch, seems to have acted as the leading civilian authority; at any rate, he conducted, on the Christian side, the negotiations for the surrender of the city. The negotiator on the Mohammedan side was none other than the Khalif himself.

The extremity of the besieged gave Omar the power, and his religion imposed upon him the duty, of driving a hard bargain. He granted security of person and property to the Christians, and guaranteed the safety of their churches and monasteries. But these buildings, and all Christian domiciles, were to be open day and night to visitation by Moslem officials.[2] All Roman officials, civil and military, and Roman troops had to take their departure; others who wished to leave the city were free to go, and might take their belongings with them. So far, so good. But all who stayed were to be subject to the exaction of tribute. No new churches

[1] The two Empires, in their last struggle, weakened each other to a degree which greatly facilitated the subsequent victories of the Saracens over both of them. Rome lost all to the south of Cilicia. Persia was entirely overrun.

[2] Monasteries, it may be observed, might be employed as military strongholds.

or convents were to be built in the city or anywhere under Moslem jurisdiction. The ringing of bells was forbidden ; the *nakus* or *semandron*—a sonorous bar of wood or iron struck with a mallet, used in many places instead of the far more expensive bell—might not be sounded unless it was first muffled. Public lamentations for deceased Christians were forbidden. Christians were prohibited from dressing like Moslems, using the Arabic language in writing or engraving, taking Moslem names, teaching their children the Koran, carrying arms, riding astride, and displaying the sign of the Cross in public. Any neglect or violation of these terms and conditions of peace was to be accounted of as an offence punishable with death.[1]

When the terms of peace had been agreed upon, Omar entered the city. It was an entrance in state only in the original sense of the phrase—the entrance of a prince or commander accompanied by his staff. There was no magnificence about it. The "Commander of the Faithful"[2] was attired like an ordinary Bedawi, and rode on a camel. "Verily," exclaimed the Patriarch Sophronius on first behold-

[1] Similar conditions appear to have been imposed upon the Jews. For the terms of Omar's charter of rights restricted by disabilities, see Williams, *Holy City*, I. pp. 313–314, and Besant and Palmer, *History of Jerusalem*, pp. 80–81.

[2] Omar appears to have preferred the title "Amir-al-Moumenin" (Commander of the Faithful) to that of Khalif (i.e. Khalif-Resoul-Allah, "Successor of the Apostle of God").

ing the conqueror, "this is the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place!"[1] Immediately upon entering the gates,[2] Omar requested the Patriarch to conduct him to the "Masjid" (praying-place)[3] of David. Sophronius led him to the Anastasis, but Omar said this was not the place he sought. It was then one of the Moslem hours of prayer, and on learning this the Patriarch invited Omar to pray there in the Anastasis, but Omar refused. Sophronius then proposed the Martyrion. The "Commander of the Faithful" refused to pray within that building, but spread his prayer-mat in the portico at its eastern end. Having concluded his devotions, he informed Sophronius that if he had prayed either in the Anastasis or in the Martyrion, his fellow-believers might afterwards have made use of his act as a pretext for taking possession of those buildings. He then called for pen and paper and caused a record to be drawn up, securing the Anastasis and Martyrion against intrusion by prohibiting Moslems from performing their devotions in the portico of the Martyrion, save one at a time. This record was at

[1] Omar took the exclamation in good part, as a confession that his success had been foretold by a prophet.

[2] Probably the northern gate, now represented by the "Gate of Damascus."

[3] Masjid = οἶκος εὐκτήριος, or προσευχή (like the Jewish oratories mentioned in Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 23).

once delivered to Sophronius. The portico was thus claimed as an oratory for individual and solitary, but not for congregational, worship according to the doctrine and discipline of Islam. On the other hand, either Omar or one of his nearest successors made the claim an exclusive one. Moslems might pray in the portico only one at a time, and there was to be no call to prayer there by a *muezzin*, but Jews and Christians were henceforth forbidden even to enter the portico. This has been ascertained by the discovery, made in May, 1897, of an inscription in the Cufic character on the wall which has been identified as the eastern wall of the Martyrion. The order ran as follows: "In the Name of God, the merciful and compassionate. From the Exalted Majesty. It is commanded that this *masjid* be guarded and that none of those under our protection [1] be allowed to enter it, either for payment or for any other consideration."[2]

Omar ultimately found the "masjid of David"

[1] I.e. Christians and Jews, who were regarded as existing only by grace of the Moslem sovereign. Sufferance was the badge of both their tribes.

[2] See the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, Sept. 24, 1910, pp. 759–761, and pp. 128, 129 above. The name of the Khalif and the date of the order were not inscribed. But the Cufic character shows that the inscription was executed in the earliest epoch of Moslem rule in Palestine. The broken remains of the eastern end of the Martyrion are enclosed in a Russian church adjoining the Khan-ez-Zeit.

in its proper place—viz. on the eastern hill, the original Sion. The site once occupied by the House "exceeding magnifical" of the Lord of Hosts was covered with *débris* and garbage. There indeed was "the abomination of desolation" to be seen in the holy place. Omar might well have retorted upon Sophronius the quotation from Daniel the Prophet, by way of comment upon the respect shown by Christians for the place beloved and revered by their Founder as his Father's house. Sophronius, however, could have parried the thrust by quoting the words of Christ himself: "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate."[1] The site having been cleared of encumbrances and defilements, a great "masjid" for congregational worship was built. This was a vast quadrangle surrounded by porticoes.[2] It was described to Abbot Adamnan of Iona by the pilgrim Arculf as "a foursquare house of prayer roughly built of upright planks and large

[1] Sophronius must have known well enough where the "masjid of David" was to be looked for. His attempt to identify it with the Anastasis may be accounted for by two concurrent motives: desire to obtain Moslem protection for that building and hatred of the Jews, who had taken an active part in the sack of Jerusalem, twenty-three years before. After the demolition of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the Christian rulers of Jerusalem appear to have deliberately allowed the site to become a "dumping-ground." See Besant and Palmer, *Hist. of Jerusalem*, p. 83 n.

[2] Like the great mosque at Mecca. See the illustrations in Professor D. S. Margoliouth's *Mohammed* (Heroes of the Nations), opp. pp. 344, 386, and 444.

beams upon the remains of some buildings which had fallen into ruins."[1] There was room in it, so Arculf averred, for three thousand worshippers.[2] Within this enclosure was the *Sakhra*, the rocky summit of the hill, venerated to this day by Moslems as the immediate starting-point of their prophet's nocturnal ascension to heaven.[3] Fifty years later, the erection of the *Kubbet-es-Sakhra* or "Dome of the Rock," so commonly and erroneously spoken of as the "Mosque of Omar," was begun by the Khalif Abd-ul-Melek.[4] This building covers and encloses the sacred rock, which occupies its central space. The conjecture has been hazarded that it was modelled upon Constantine's Church of Olivet or the Ascension, which was sacked and partially destroyed by the Persians in A.D. 614, but afterwards restored—most probably by Modestus. But whereas Arculf describes the Church of the Ascension, which he saw in its restored form, as a circular structure,

[1] Geyer, op. cit. pp. 226–227; Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, pp. 1–2.

[2] This shows that Arculf's use of "domus" must not be understood as meaning that the whole space enclosed by the wooden structure was roofed over.

[3] Besant and Palmer, op. cit. p. 86. According to one view, the great altar of burnt sacrifice; according to another, the Holy of Holies, in the Temple of Jehovah, stood on this rock.

[4] Besant and Palmer, op. cit. pp. 85–96; Williams, *H.C.* I. pp. 317–318, II. pp. 301–304. The wooden structure set up by Omar was then taken down, and a still larger court, with pavement, walls, and porticoes of stone, was laid out.

the central part of which was open to the sky, the "Dome of the Rock" is octagonal in plan, and is surmounted—as its name indicates—by a cupola.[1]

The exclusion of the Christians from the eastern portico of the Martyrion can hardly be supposed to have put an end to Christian worship within the building. There must have been other entrances besides the three eastern doors. But probably from this time the approach from the south became the chief (and perhaps the only) approach to the group of buildings of which the Martyrion was a member.

In Jerusalem, as in every other place that they conquered, the Moslems established themselves as a ruling caste. While they allowed Christians and Christianity to exist, they despised them. To the Church of the Holy Sepulchre they gave in mockery the name "Kenisa el-Kamamah," which means "the Church of Dung," either by way of keeping the Christians in mind of the defilement of the "praying-place of David" or by perversion of the proper Arabic name "Kenisa el-Kaiyamah," i.e. "the Church of the Resurrection."[2]

But contemptuous tolerance was not the only form in which the Moslem's assurance of his superiority expressed itself. Twice over, in the tenth

[1] Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church*, pp. 142 and 138; Geyer, op. cit. pp. 246–247.

[2] Besant and Palmer, op. cit. pp. 84–85, and 83 n.

century, was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre attacked and set on fire by Moslem fanatics. The first of these two assaults upon the sanctuary took place in A.D. 937. At that time the bloodthirsty fanaticism of the Karmatis or Carmathians (an extremist Shiah sect) had put a stop to the pilgrimages to Mecca, and orthodox Moslem devotees, being cut off from the Kaaba and the Black Stone, resorted with all the greater devotion to the Sakhra at Jerusalem. The annalist Eutychius relates that on Palm Sunday, in the year 937, the Moslems destroyed the gates on the south side of the precinct of the Church of the Sepulchre, set fire to the portico, and made havoc of the Anastasis and the Church of Golgotha. On this occasion, simple exuberance of religious zeal appears to have been the motive of arson and pillage. In the second assault, delivered in A.D. 969, the motive was anger on account of suspected communications of a treasonable nature between the Patriarch John of Jerusalem and the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, who had invaded Syria. The Patriarch was made a burnt-offering for the appeasement of Mohammedan wrath, and the Church of the Sepulchre was also made to suffer a fiery punishment. The injuries inflicted upon the various buildings of the Church were no doubt considerable. But they were not so great as to be beyond the power of the

Patriarchate to repair them, otherwise nothing would have been left for El-Hakem to destroy in A.D. 1010. The work done at El-Hakem's command fell not a line short of complete demolition of the Anastasis and its companion-churches and even included an attempt to obliterate the Sepulchre-rock itself.[1]

[1] The portico said to have been set on fire in A.D. 937 cannot have been the eastern portico of the Martyrion, unless that had ceased to be a Moslem oratory. The southern gate destroyed in that year must have been the chief gate of the whole group of buildings, perhaps (for the "general public" at least) the only one.

CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, FROM ITS RESTORATION BY MODESTUS TO ITS DEMOLITION BY EL-HAKEM

PREFATORY NOTE.—The primary authorities here resorted to are: (i) *Adamnani de Locis Sanctis Libri Tres*; a record of the description of Jerusalem and other places in the East given to Adamnan, abbot of Iona, by Arculf, a Frankish prelate who went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land about A.D. 670 (certainly not later than A.D. 688, for he makes no mention of the Dome of the Rock, which was begun in that year; and not earlier than A.D. 661, for he does mention "Saracenorum rex Mauias," i.e. the Khalif Moawiyah, who reigned A.D. 661–680); Adamnan presented the record in A.D. 701 to Aldfrid, King of Northumbria (Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, Intr. p. xii.; Williams, *H.C.* I. pp. 320–321); it became a standard work on the subject of the Holy Places, especially in the form of an epitome made by Bede, who incorporated it thus in his *Historia Gentis Anglorum* (lib. V. cc. 15–17); (ii) *Willibaldi Hodœporicon*; the record of the pilgrimage of Willibald, a native of Wessex, who became Bishop of Eichstadt; the record was compiled by a kinswoman of his who was a nun in the convent of Heidenheim: Willibald's pilgrimage is dated A.D. 722 by Wright (*Early Travels in Palestine*, Intr. pp. xiii.–xiv.); (iii) *Epiphanius*, a Greek monk of Jerusalem, who compiled a sort of "Pilgrim's Vade-mecum," about A.D. 840 (Intr. in Dressel's edition, Leipzig, 1843); (iv) *Bernard*, a monk of Mont

S. Michel in Normandy, who visited Jerusalem A.D. 867 or 868 (see Wright, op. cit. Intr. pp. xvi.–xvii. and Williams, *H.C.* I. p. 348 n,). The texts of Adamnan's "De Locis Sanctis" and Bede's epitome (*Hist. Gent. Angl.* 16–17) are printed in Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, pp. 221–297 and 301–324. Adamnan, Willibald and Bernard are translated in Wright's *Early Travels in Palestine*, pp. 1–31. The text of Bede's epitome contains evidence of some use of the work of Eucherius (about A.D. 460: see Geyer, op. cit.), but he keeps almost exclusively to Adamnan while treating of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

THE style of the restoration carried out by Modestus appears to have been in keeping with his name, and the difference between his buildings and those of Constantine may be compared with the difference between the temple of Zerubbabel and the temple of Solomon. To restore the glory of the former house was indeed beyond Modestus' power. He could obtain no assistance from the Emperor Heraclius, who for the time being had ceased to rule over Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; and even when these countries were restored to the Roman Empire their revenues were in demand, first and foremost, for the restoration of its government and defence. Inferior, however, as Modestus' buildings were to Constantine's, they excited the admiration of pilgrims who came from Western lands to visit the Holy City.[1]

[1] See the remarks of Arculf and Willibald (Geyer, *Itin. Hier.* pp. 227, 233, 234; Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, pp. 3–4, 18).

The general plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in the epoch under review, was the same as that of Constantine's buildings. There was a large court,[1] on the south side of which stood the Church of Golgotha ; on the west side the Anastasis or Church of the Resurrection, a circular structure enclosing the Sepulchre ; on the east the Martyrion, which now begins to be referred to as the "Church of Saint Constantine."[2] But in addition to these there are sanctuaries of which no mention is made in the Roman epoch. To the south-east of the Anastasis, and south of Golgotha, a "Church of S. Mary" has come into existence.[3] There is a "Prison of Christ" at the east end of the colonnade or portico on the north side of the court.[4] It appears, furthermore, that a "Chapel of the Forty Martyrs" has been erected on the south side of the Anastasis by the end of the eighth century.[5]

A. The Anastasis.

Arculf's descriptions of the Anastasis and the Sepulchre have already been drawn upon for a

[1] *Atrium, paradisus.*

[2] Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 257.

[3] First mentioned by Arculf (Geyer, op. cit. pp. 232–233 and plan, p. 231). See Plate B, opp. p. 160.

[4] First mentioned by Epiphanius (about A.D. 840).

[5] An inference from the story, related by Eutychius (tenth century), of the Patriarch Thomas' dream-vision of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste coming forth in procession from a place close by the Anastasis. Vide infra, pp. 159, 160.

description of those structures as they stood in the epoch A.D. 335–614.[1] Constantine's Anastasis must have been grievously defaced and damaged by the fire lighted in it by the Persians, but it would not necessarily be reduced to total ruin. It is improbable, indeed, that Modestus, with the limited means at his disposal, could have built, from the ground up, the Anastasis described (and that with evident signs of admiration) by Arculf. But there is no improbability in the supposition that this Anastasis was a restoration. As a matter of fact, Antonius, a monk of the Convent of S. Saba, writing about A.D. 630, definitely states that Modestus "built again" (*ἀνήγειρε*) "the holy Golgotha and the holy Anastasis and the august House of the precious Cross."[2]

Just as Constantine's Anastasis has to be reconstructed in imagination with help from Arculf's description of the Anastasis of Modestus, so the latter must be reconstructed with help from extant descriptions, views, and plans of the Byzantine Anastasis erected in the eleventh century after the demolition of the Modestine structure by the Khalif El-Hakem. Of the Byzantine Anastasis

[1] Part I. ch. v. A.

[2] Quoted by Dom F. Cabrol, *Les Églises de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1895), p. 19. Compare the testimony of Eutychius, referred to by the same author, l.c. and quoted in Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 257.

there are numerous descriptions composed at various times from the beginning of the twelfth century to that of the nineteenth; the earliest being that of the English pilgrim Saewulf, who was in the Holy Land in the years 1102 and 1103; the latest, that of the French traveller Chateaubriand, who visited Jerusalem in 1806, just two years before the building was so injured by a terrible conflagration as to make a very extensive reconstruction necessary.[1] Views, elevations, and plans are to be found in books on Jerusalem and the Holy Land published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, e.g. in G. Sandys' *Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom.* 1610.[2]

The Modestine Anastasis, while it might have equalled the Constantinian in solidity, must have been considerably inferior in splendour, though it stirred Arculf to admiration. It was a circular structure, with an ambulatory surrounding an inner circle in which stood the Sepulchre-shrine. There were two entrances; one in the north-eastern quadrant of the outer circle, the other in the south-eastern. A circle of twelve columns separated the ambulatory from the inner space and sup-

[1] The architect of the nineteenth-century restoration might have, and ought to have, renewed the form and design of the Byzantine Anastasis, but did not even attempt to do so.

[2] Sandys was in Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1611.

ported the upper part of the structure. Three recesses opened out of the outer wall of this ambulatory, at the southern, western, and northern points respectively. In each of these recesses was an altar. A fourth altar, said to have been made out of a portion of the stone which the angel rolled away from the door of the Sepulchre, stood at the easternmost point of the inner circle, facing the entrance of the Sepulchre-shrine. It is possible, but by no means absolutely certain, that besides the twelve columns, there were four piers dividing the columns into sets, as in the "Dome of the Rock," built in A.D. 688–691, and in the Anastasis itself as it existed from A.D. 1048 to A.D. 1808. Arculf, however, mentions only twelve columns "miræ magnitudinis." On the other hand, there might have been four piers and eight columns, making twelve supports in all, which Arculf described indiscriminately as "columns." [1]

The ambulatory must be supposed to have been covered with a roof or vault. If the central space had been hypæthral, Arculf would hardly have omitted to mention the fact, for he mentions it in

[1] See the plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, representing the buildings as they stood before the fire of Sept. 30–Oct. 12, A.D. 1808, in Williams, *H.C.* II. Plate II.; or the plan in vol. II. of the modern reprint of Fynes Morison's *Itinerary* (1596) by Maclehose (Glasgow). For the "Dome of the Rock," see the plans in Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church*, p. 138 (Fig. *a*), and Baedeker-Socin, *Palestine* (1912).

the case of the Church of the Ascension upon the Mount of Olives—a structure similar to the Anastasis—and comments upon the appropriateness of an arrangement leaving the place of the Ascension open to the sky.[1] But, whatever may have been the condition of the Anastasis in this respect at the time of Arculf's visit, there can be no doubt but that by the middle of the ninth century it had been provided with a cupola, the form of which was that of a truncated cone. This cupola was constructed of cedar and fir imported from Cyprus. The woodwork, it may be presumed, was covered with lead.

The story of the building of this cupola, as narrated by the annalist Eutychius, is a curious one. Thomas, Patriarch of Jerusalem from A.D. 809 to 829—i.e. in the reigns of the Khalifs Mohammed El-Amin and Abdullah El-Mamun, sons of the famous Haroun Er-Raschid,—saw in a dream the Forty Martyrs of Sebastê (Sivas in Armenia) [2]

[1] Geyer, op. cit. pp. 246–247.

[2] These, according to the legend, were forty soldiers in one of the legions stationed on the Armenian frontier of the Roman Empire about A.D. 320. Refusing the common test of loyalty (offering incense before the image of the Emperor, or swearing by his *numen*) they were set to stand naked on a frozen lake. They are commemorated by the Greek Church on March 9, the anniversary of their martyrdom (March is a winter month in Armenia). Another commemoration is found in the name of a town on the coast of Epirus—Aghioi Saranta (Santi Quaranta).

come forth in procession from a place at the side of the Anastasis, ascend its walls, and take their stand in a circle at the summit, bowing their bodies and extending their arms inwards. He interpreted this vision as a message from God, bidding him erect a cupola over the Anastasis. It is obviously implied that the central portion of the building was at the time without any roof or cupola, or that such covering as existed was in very bad repair. Scarcity following upon a great plague of locusts had caused the larger part of the Moslem population of Jerusalem, together with their authorities, to seek refuge in less afflicted regions. Encouraged by this circumstance, the Patriarch imported forty large trunks of cedar and fir from Cyprus, where there was great abundance of such material.[1] He was effectively assisted by the liberality of one Bokam, a wealthy Egyptian, who opened his coffers to defray the charges of the enterprise. The cupola was made double, with an inner and an outer structure, and there was space between the two for a man to walk upright on the top of the

[1] The forests of Cyprus were one of the great sources of the supply of ship-timber in the ancient Hellenic East. Mr. G. Jeffery, Curator of Ancient Monuments in Cyprus, thinks that the carpentry of Patriarch Thomas' cupola was of much the same kind as that of some of the Byzantine church-domes existing in various places in that island. See the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. XVII. p. 716 (Aug. 27, 1910).

wall on which it rested. At the summit there was in all probability an opening, for the purpose of giving light, just as there was in the later cupola destroyed by fire in A.D. 1808[1] and as there is in the existing cupola set up in A.D. 1870.[2] When the Moslems came back to Jerusalem, the Patriarch was called to account for what he had done. Fanatical interpreters of the laws relating to the status and rights of "Nazarenes" under Moslem sovereignty held that all repairing of churches was forbidden. But what appears most to have provoked displeasure and wrath was a suspicion that the Church of the Sepulchre—the "Church of Dung"—now overtopped the sacred Dome of the Rock. The Patriarch was thrown into prison. To him, as he lay there in the shadow of death, came an old Moslem, who offered to show him a sure and certain way of escape from the wrath of his accusers, on certain conditions. These were a thousand dinars to be paid at once, and life-pensions for the deliverer and his children. The terms were hard, but harder still was the prospect

[1] This was also a wooden cupola, built up of 131 beams of cedar, in the form of a truncated cone. It was succeeded by another wooden cupola, the shape of which was hemispherical. See Willis in Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 202, and Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. pp. 808–809 (Oct. 29, 1910).

[2] The existing cupola is an iron structure hemispherical in form, with a polar opening covered by a glass skylight; see Jeffery, l.c.

of death under the sword of the executioner. The bargain was struck, and the Patriarch was told simply to throw upon his accusers the burden of proving that the Anastasis was now any loftier than it had been at any time previous to the erection of the new dome. As no record of measurements existed, the Patriarch's accusers were unable to prove their case, and he was set at liberty.[1]

Three points in this narrative are to be noted. First—as has already been observed—the Anastasis, at the time of the Patriarch's vision, was either without a roof or very badly sheltered, in its central portion.[2] Second—there had been a cupola at some previous time, and within the memory of men of that generation.[3] Third—the

[1] Williams, *H.C.* I. pp. 337–338. Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. pp. 715–716 (Aug. 27, 1910). That the burden of proof could be thrown on the accusers must have been known to the Patriarch quite independently of the advice for which he paid so heavily. In any case he must have known that a great door and effectual could only be opened with a golden key. It is absurd to suppose that he paid merely for advice and instruction. The expenditure was agreed to in order that the judge or judges might be bought.

[2] The state of the Anastasis, in this respect, about A.D. 820 may be compared with its state, as described by Edward Robinson, about A.D. 1850. See Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 808, and Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1852).

[3] Whether this cupola existed in the seventh century or not, is a question which can only be decided on considerations of probability. On the whole, it seems probable enough that in A.D. 670 there was a cupola of some kind, and it is also probable that it was constructed of wood, rather than of stone.

vision of the Forty Martyrs coming out of place near the Anastasis, taken into connection with the fact that the existing chapel of the Forty Martyrs, which adjoins the Anastasis on the south, dates back to the restoration of the buildings by Constantine Monomachus in the eleventh century,[1] suggests very strongly that a chapel with the same dedication and in the same place existed in the ninth century, when Thomas was Patriarch of Jerusalem.

B. The Sepulchre.

By far the best description of the Sepulchre as it appeared in this epoch is to be found in Adamnan's record of Arculf's narrative. Arculf describes the Sepulchre as a "cell" (*tegurium*) hewn out of a mass of rock. There was room within for nine men to stand. A tall man standing there would have had the vault of the chamber about a foot and a half above his head. The "cell" was covered externally with "choice marble," and on the top of it stood a gilded cross of considerable dimensions. Before the entrance, which was in the eastern face of the "cell," there was an altar made out of the smaller of two pieces into which

[1] Willis in Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 211 and n.; Jeffery, *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 716.

the original stone door had been cut. The other piece also formed an altar, which was set on the eastern side of the Anastasis, facing the entrance of the Sepulchre, and enclosed within curtains. Within the "cell" and on the north side (i.e. to the right of one entering) there was a recess hewn in the rock. This recess was, according to Arculf, the "Sepulchrum Domini" properly so called; the rock mass in which it had been hewn being a "monumentum." The length of the recess was about seven feet. It was hewn in the form of an arch at the top. The bottom was about "three palms" from the floor. From the top of the recess hung eight lamps; four others, making up the apostolic number of twelve, stood on the bottom, i.e. on the ledge upon which Christ's body had been laid.

There was no covering of marble upon the rock-surfaces *within* the Sepulchre, and the marks of the excavators' tools were plainly visible. The colour of the rock was a mixture of red and white.

This "mausoleum," as Arculf called it, was, in his opinion, to be identified with the cavern spoken of by the prophet, saying, "He shall dwell in a cavern on high in an exceeding strong rock." The same prophet had also, in the same oracle, foretold the Lord's Resurrection and the joy of the

Apostles, in the words "Ye behold the King in his beauty." [1]

The height of the sepulchral chamber ("speleon," "spelunca," "cavatura monumenti Dominici") was, so Arculf reported, a foot and a half above that of a tall man. What was Arculf's standard of height? Was the foot in his scale of measurement exactly equal to the modern English foot? The height of the sepulchral chamber, as indicated in his statement, might have been, in modern English measurement, anything from 7 feet 2 inches to 7 feet 10 inches. At the present time, the height of the chamber is 8 feet 6 inches English measurement, and it appears to have been much the same three hundred years ago.[2] It must, however, be remembered that even so long ago as A.D. 1336 Wilhelm von Boldensele found the ceiling of the chamber to be a built-up vault.[3] The original

[1] Geyer, op. cit. pp. 228–230 and 232; Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 264 f.; Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*. The prophecies quoted by Arculf are Isaiah xxxiii. 16 and 17. They are not worded in his narrative as they stand in the Vulgate.

(i.) *Arculf* (*or Adamnan?*) (*a*) "Hic habitabitur in excelsa spelunca petræ fortissimæ"; (*b*) "Regem cum gloria videtis."

(ii.) *Vulgate*. (*a*) "Iste in excelsis habitabit; munimenta saxorum sublimitas eius"; (*b*) "Regem in decore suo videbunt oculi eius."

[2] See Part I. ch. v. B. appendix (measurements of Scoles, A.D. 1825); Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire*, quoting Deshayes, envoy of Louis XIII, who visited Jerusalem in 1621 (*Itinéraire*, II. pp. 44–45 or pp. 269–270, in one-vol. ed. in *Classiques Garnier*).

[3] Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 168 n.

rock-ceiling, then, disappeared at some date between A.D. 670 and A.D. 1336. Its disappearance is most probably connected with the demolition of the Anastasis and the other buildings of the Sepulchre Church, carried out at the command of the Khalif El-Hakem in A.D. 1010.[1]

The *loculus* or recess, in which the body was laid, measured, so Arculf informed Adamnan, seven feet in length. Arculf took this measurement "with his own hand." The bottom of the recess was "about three palms" above the floor. Measurements taken by the French envoy Deshayes in 1621 and by the English traveller Richardson in 1822 were as follows: (*a*) *Deshayes*—length of the *loculus*, 5 feet 10 inches; breadth, 2 feet 10 inches; height above floor, 2 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; (*b*) *Richardson*—length of the *loculus*, 6 feet $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch; breadth, 3 feet $0\frac{3}{4}$ inch; height above floor, 2 feet $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch.[2] Deshayes' foot and inch were evidently not identical with Richardson's. Even if these units had been identical, different measurements might have resulted, for allowance has to be made for the possibility of some reconstruction in the Sepulchre-chamber after the fire of 1808, though the fire is said to have left the chamber uninjured. As between Arculf and Deshayes, allowance has

[1] Part III. ch. i. pp. 196–197.

[2] Chateaubriand, op. cit. l.c.; Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 169.

to be made for the difference resulting from the addition of a marble lining or inner coating to the Sepulchre. This inner coating existed in the epoch of the Crusades (twelfth and thirteenth centuries); probably it was first added at the time of the restoration of the Sepulchre by the Emperors Michael Paphlagon and Constantine Monomachus.[1]

Arculf described the "mausoleum Salvatoris" to Adamnan as "rotundum tegurium." Willibald, half a century later, reported that the Sepulchre "fuerat in petra excisum . . . et est quadrans in imo et in summo subtilis."[2] At first sight, the harmonizing of these statements appears to involve the squaring of the circle. But Willibald's description "quadrans in imo, etc." refers to *the sepulchral chamber*, not to the external structure. Now the sepulchral chamber is nearly square, measuring 6 feet 8 inches by 6 feet 1 inch.[3] In the seventh and eighth centuries the dimensions must have been somewhat larger, as there was no marble lining then in existence. The difference, however, resulting from the covering of the walls with marble, hardly seems to be likely to account for the difference between the capacity of the chamber, as reported by Arculf, and its capacity as experienced

[1] See Part III. ch. ii. pp. 247, 252.

[2] Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 176 n. Wright, op. cit. p. 18.

[3] Scoles (1825) in Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 165. Deshayes (in Chateaubriand, l.c.) reported 6 ft. 1 in. × 5 ft. 10 in.

in modern times. Nine men could hardly find space to stand in the sepulchral chamber now—unless they were packed in like sardines in a barrel.

Willibald's description of the chamber as "in summo subtilis" may either be his way of saying that it was vaulted, or he may be passing, without indication of the fact, from the form of the sepulchral chamber to that of the "monumentum" or "mausoleum." In the latter case, his meaning must be that the "monumentum," the external structure, rose to a contracted culmination—perhaps a truncated cone, surmounted by the great cross, of which he makes mention as standing "in summitate Sepulchri."

Epiphanius only mentions the Sepulchre, without describing it.[1] Bernard of Mont S. Michel says that around the rock of the Sepulchre were set nine columns. Four of these columns stood before the entrance of the Sepulchre. Having said so much, Bernard refers his readers to the description contained in Bede's *Historia Gentis Anglorum* —i.e. to Bede's abridgment of the Arculf-Adamnan narrative.[2]

[1] μέσος δὲ τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως ἔστιν ὁ ἅγιος τάφος τοῦ Κυρίου.

[2] Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 264 n.; Wright, op. cit. pp. 26–27. The four columns before the entrance of the Sepulchre must have been placed two and two on either side. Bernard says that the space between each pair (left and right) was filled with excellent masonry.

Both Willibald and Bernard speak of the stone which originally closed the entrance of the Sepulchre. Willibald, however, represents the stone which he saw, not as the original stone, but as resembling it. It was, he says, "lapis magnus quadrans in similitudinem lapidis quem angelus revolvit ab ostio monumenti." Bernard represents it as the very stone which the Angel rolled away from the entrance of the tomb and sat upon.

The original stone must have been a disc, like the stone still to be seen near the entrance of the "Tombs of the Kings," a group of rock-hewn sepulchres lying to the north of Jerusalem, near the Anglican cathedral. But Willibald describes it as "quadrans." Perhaps he meant that it resembled the original stone in respect of its *position*. Or "quadrans" may be taken with "in similitudinem" in the sense of "agreeing with the likeness," i.e. closely resembling. According to Arculf's testimony, the original stone had been cut in two, and the sections hewn into a shape suitable to their use as altars. Bernard speaks of the sepulchre-stone as placed between four of the nine columns which surrounded the Sepulchre —i.e. with two of these columns on one flank, and two on the other. Between the flanking pairs (left and right, north and south) there were walls

—" parietes ex optimis lapidibus." Here we have the primitive form of the ante-chamber of the Sepulchre, the " Chapel of the Angel " in the Byzantine and Banauso-Hellenic " monumenta." [1] Inasmuch as Arculf does not mention these columns set in front of the Sepulchre, we may infer that they were not there when he visited Jerusalem.

C. The Court or Parvis.

Between the Anastasis, the Church of Golgotha, and the Basilica of Constantine Arculf saw " a court, in which lamps were kept burning day and night." Willibald refers to this as " the garden in which was the Sepulchre of our Saviour." Epiphanius calls it " Joseph's garden." It will be remembered that Cyril of Jerusalem, in the fourth century, asserted that traces of the existence of the garden were in his day still visible.[2] Bernard describes the court as " a parvis (*paradisus*) open to the sky," having walls " shining with gold " and a pavement " laid with very costly stone." In the midst was an enclosure formed of four chains, having within it the spot identified as the centre of the earth. According to the text of Bernard's narrative, as it has been handed down to modern

[1] See Part III. ch. iii. § iii. (pp. 248–250).
[2] Part I. ch. v. B. p. 109, n. 3.

times, the four chains extended from the four churches which stood round the "paradisus."[1] But chains so placed, unless they were suspended at a sufficient height above the pavement, would have been very disagreeable obstacles. The chains, of course, might have extended, each from a church adjoining the court, at a height of seven or eight feet or more, to a pillar marking the centre of the earth. Evidently they are to be regarded as corresponding to the four quarters of the compass. But there was no church on the *north* side of the court, and Bernard's text fails to distinguish *four* churches. It also displays marks of a confusion of the Church of Golgotha with the Basilica of Constantine.[2] Now in the *paradisus* of the Sepulchre-buildings, as restored by Constantine Monomachus, there was, immediately east of the Anastasis, a

[1] "Confinium iv catenarum, quæ veniunt a prædictis quatuor ecclesiis, in quo dicitur medius esse mundus."

[2] "Intra hanc civitatem . . . quatuor eminent ecclesiæ, mutuis sibimet parietibus cohærentes: una videlicet ad orientem quæ habet montem Calvariæ et locum in quo reperta fuit crux Domini et vocatur Basilica Constantini; alia ad meridiem; tertia ad occidentem, in cuius medio est Sepulchrum Domini." The fourth church is not specified. The Basilica of Constantine, standing to the east, was built over the place of the Invention of the Cross, but did *not* contain "montem Calvariæ." The rock identified as "mons Calvariæ" or "monticulus Golgotha" was enclosed in the "ecclesia Golgothana," which stood on the *south* side of the "paradisus." The fourth church should have been on the north side, but there was no church there.

small structure pointed out as marking the centre of the earth, which is thus mentioned as an enclosed spot by the English pilgrim Saewulf (A.D. 1102–1103) and the Russian Abbot Daniel (A.D. 1106–1107).[1] It seems reasonable, then, to suppose that the object which in Bernard's time marked the centre of the earth was enclosed, and that the enclosure was formed of four chains, one opposite each cardinal point of the compass.

Cyril of Jerusalem believed that Golgotha was the centre of the earth. For salvation was wrought upon Golgotha, and the Psalmist had prophesied of the working of salvation "in the midst of the earth," i.e. at its centre.[2] Arculf, however, found the column at the northern end of the great street which ran through the city from north to south regarded as the gnomon of the dial, of which the terrestrial expanse was believed to be the disc, and consequently as marking the centre of that expanse.[3] By Bernard's time, the terrestrial centre had been brought back nearly to the place where Cyril pointed it out to his catechumens. There it remained throughout the Middle Ages; there it is still marked;

[1] See Part III. ch. iii. § iii. p. 256, n. 3.

[2] See Part I. ch. iv. p. 77, n. 1 (ref. to Psa. lxxiii. 12: LXX = lxxiv. 12 E.V.).

[3] Geyer, op. cit. pp. 239–240, 307, cf. 107.

there it is shown to pious pilgrim and unbelieving tourist alike.[1]

The " Prison of Christ," an oratory on the north side of the court, is mentioned for the first time in the history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the monk Epiphanius, whose date is about A.D. 840. Epiphanius, again, is the only author in the whole epoch from Constantine to the Crusades who mentions this oratory. It was, perhaps, originally a rock-hewn cistern. That our Lord was (as the legend relates) thrust into a prison-cell some time between his arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane and His Crucifixion is nowhere stated, or even hinted, in the Gospels. The " Prison " must have been " invented " in order to provide a prophecy with its fulfilment. Why this chamber, partly cut in the rock, partly built up, was selected for the purpose, is a question much easier to ask than to answer. One may conjecture that, whatever its original aspect and use, it had come to look like a prison-cell—it certainly looks like one now—and so was identified as the place where a prophecy, or prophecies, understood as foretelling an imprisonment of the Christ, had been fulfilled. Psalm lxxxviii., verses 4 and 6, " I am counted with them that go down into the pit. . . . Thou hast laid

[1] See, for example, the description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Baedeker-Socin, *Palestine* (1912).

me in the lowest pit," or the story of Jeremiah's imprisonment in Jeremiah xxxviii., may have been the prophecy in question. In both cases, the LXX use the term λάκκος = cistern,[1] and the version of the LXX would be the form in which the prophecy was familiar to the investigators—Greek monks of the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre. Whatever the true account of the matter may be, the " Prison of Christ " has been believed in and venerated as the scene of one of the incidents of the Saviour's Passion, for a thousand years.[2]

The extant copies of Arculf's plan of the Church of the Sepulchre show " the place of Abraham's

[1] Jeremiah was imprisoned in a disused or empty cistern: the " Prison " has very much the appearance of such a receptacle. Psa. lxxxviii. 6 in the LXX (lxxxvii. 7) begins *ἔθεντό με ἐν λάκκῳ κατωτάτῳ . . .* Compare p. 118 n. 2, above.

[2] The " Prison " is mentioned by Saewulf and Daniel in the twelfth century; in the fourteenth-century description of the Holy Places attributed to Sir John Mandeville; by the Russian pilgrims Ignatius of Smolensk (1395), Grethenios (1400), Basil the Merchant (1466), and Basil Posniakov (1560–1561); by Fynes Morison (1596), G. Sandys (1611), Deshayes (1621), H. Maundrell (1697); and it was claimed in 1851 by the Franciscans of Jerusalem as one of the Holy Places reserved exclusively for Latin Christians under the Franco-Ottoman Capitulations of 1740. See Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 270, 273; Wright, *Early Travels*, pp. 37, 167, 443–444; *Itin. Russes*, I. pp. 16, 150, 172, 252, 310; Morison, *Itinerary*, II. p. 32; Sandys, *Relation*, p. 131 (" a Grot hewn out of the rock, where they say that the Jews imprisoned our Saviour during the time that they were providing things necessary for the crucifying "); Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire*, p. 269 (Garnier); and below, Part IV. ch. ii. pp. 289, 297.

Altar " in the north-east corner of the court, instead of the " Prison of Christ." But Arculf's narrative clearly implies that " the place of Abraham's Altar " was between the Church of Golgotha and the Martyrion—i.e. in the south-east corner of the court. In the same quarter of the court or " parvis " Arculf saw an " exedra " (out-house) in which were stored certain alleged relics of the Passion—in particular, a cup said to be the very one which our Lord used in the institution of the Eucharistic memorial.

The eastern side of the court was formed, in the main, by one end of the restored Martyrion or Basilica of Constantine. Along this end of the basilica ran a portico, in which stood a cross, into the lower limb of which a lance had been inserted. This, so Arculf was told, was the very weapon with which the soldier had pierced the side of the dead Christ.[1]

Arculf's plan shows two doorways leading from the court into the Martyrion. These are understood by Mr. Jeffery as indicating two descents by steps into the Chapel of S. Helena, though there is

[1] Geyer, pp. 235, 305. Whether this portico was broken by the apse of the Martyrion, or continued round it, or whether the seventh-century Martyrion had an apse at all, are questions which must be left to conjecture. The Holy Lance—or what was alleged to be the Holy Lance—was discovered again (or " invented ") at Antioch in A.D. 1098 : see Gibbon, ch. lviii.

only one descent now and certainly there has only been one since the eleventh century.[1]

D. GOLGOTHA.

Arculf describes the "Church of Golgotha" (*ecclesia Golgothana*) as "very large" and standing "to the east of" the Anastasis. It might easily have been larger than the existing Golgotha-chapels without being "very large," and its true position (as Arculf's own plan indicated) was to the south-east, not the east, of the Anastasis and the Sepulchre. The church had an upper floor, which rested in part upon the Golgotha rock. Upon this rock stood a tall monumental cross, made of silver or (which is more probable) of wood overlaid with silver plates. Above the cross hung a great circle of bronze, which carried a number of lamps. Below this "Place of the Crucifixion" Arculf saw a cave hewn in the rock, and within the cave an altar on which "the Sacrifice was offered" at the obsequies of "certain persons held in honour." These must have been ecclesiastical dignitaries, notable ascetics, or distinguished pilgrims. The corpses of these persons were laid at the door of the church while the mysteries were being performed. The door is shown on Arculf's plan in the western wall of the building. It is probable that the place where the

[1] Geyer, p. 231, *Quarterly Review*, No. 379 (1899). But see below, § E, p. 181.

corpses were set down was the spot now marked by the "Stone of Anointing." This has been pointed out since the twelfth century as the place where our Lord's body, after being taken down from the Cross, was anointed for burial.[1] It is rather strange that the place of the Unction or Anointing is not mentioned by any writer of the epoch A.D. 614–1010 or A.D. 335–614, and still more strange that Arculf does not mention it in connection with a burial-rite.

Epiphanius does not expressly name the Church of Golgotha, but he notices the flight of steps leading up to the top of the Golgotha rock, and adds that "below the [place of the] Crucifixion there is a church and the tomb of Adam."[2] He maintains, therefore, the tradition which identified the cave in the Golgotha rock as Adam's burial-place. Arculf says nothing about Adam in connection with Golgotha, for he accepts the rival tradition locating the tomb of Adam at Hebron.[3]

Under and at the back of the Greek altar upon Golgotha there are three holes cut in the rock.

[1] Part III. ch. iii. § iii. n. 44.

[2] *καὶ πλησίον τοῦ Τάφου ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος τοῦ Κρανίου, ἔνθα ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Χριστός, ἔχων τὸ ὕψος βαθμοὺς ἤτοι σκαλία τριάκοντα ἕξ, ὑποκάτω δὲ τῆς Σταυρώσεως ἐστὶν ἐκκλησία, καὶ Ἀδὰμ ὁ τάφος.* The top of the rock is 15 or 16 feet above the general floor level of the Church of the Sepulchre.

[3] Cf. Part I. ch. v. E, p. 134.

These are shown as the original holes cut for the reception of the crosses of our Lord and the two malefactors. They are suspiciously close together, and the mere fact of their being circular is also suggestive of doubt regarding the truth of the traditional account given of them. Again, even as late as the latter part of the sixteenth century, only one such hole is mentioned in pilgrim-narratives.[1] It is possible that the middle hole was cut at the point where the cross mentioned by Arculf was set up, and that this cross again occupied the same place as the cross so frequently mentioned by Etheria, and set so prominently in the foreground of the S. Pudentiana mosaic.[2]

E. The Martyrion.

Antiochus of S. Saba (*circa* A.D. 630) states that Modestus rebuilt "the august house of the precious Cross." This means that Modestus rebuilt the Martyrion, for it was in the Martyrion that the "Wood of the True Cross" had been laid up.[3]

[1] Basil Posniakov, visiting Jerusalem in A.D. 1560 or 1561, saw only *one* hole (*Itin. Russes*, I. p. 312). Willibald mentions three crosses, but mentions them as set up in the portico on the east side of the *parvis*, not on Golgotha. See the description of the Golgotha-chapels in Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 226–232.

[2] See Part I. ch. iv. and ch. v. E: pp. 78, 79, 132.

[3] Cabrol, *Églises de Jérusalem*, p. 19. Cf. the *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* (sixth century) in Geyer, p. 153: in introitu basilicæ ad sinistram partem est cubiculus, ubi Crux Domini posita est.

The restoration doubtless followed the lines of the original building, but could not have reproduced its magnificence and splendour. Yet Arculf evidently admired it greatly, and he even appears to have taken the building he saw for the original Basilica of Constantine.[1] Epiphanius speaks of the "Gate of S. Constantine" placed "between the Crucifixion," i.e. Golgotha, "and the Prison" —a position corresponding to the head of the steps which form the descent into the Crypt of S. Helena and the Crypt of the Invention of the Cross. "Above this gate," Epiphanius goes on to say, "is the Temple, in which is laid up the cup out of which Christ drank the vinegar and the gall; also the basin, in which Christ washed His disciples' feet, and the spear, and the sponge, and the reed, and the crown of thorns, and the clean linen cloth, like unto that which Peter saw in heaven." [2]

Bernard simply mentions, without describing, "the church which occupies the place where the Cross was found, and is called the basilica of Constantine." [3]

In the Roman epoch, the Anastasis and the Church

[1] Geyer, p. 233; Wright, p. 3.

[2] *St. Constantine*: the Emperor and his mother Helena are *isapostoli* in the Greek Hagiology. *The Temple*: a reminiscence perhaps of Eusebius, *V.C.* III. 33; see Part I. ch. iv., pp. 73–75.

[3] Wright, p. 26.

of Golgotha appear rather as annexes to the Martyrion; from A.D. 614 onwards the Anastasis comes into view as the main building, and the rest as annexes to it. The Modestine Martyrion, while following the lines of the Constantinian, probably enough followed them on a reduced scale of measurements, as well as on a reduced allowance of ornamentation. Instead of the gorgeous coffered ceiling plated with gold, one must imagine a plain wooden one, or perhaps no ceiling at all, but only the rafters and the inner faces of the timbers composing the roof. The original columns must have been badly cracked by the fire; perhaps they were replaced by quadrangular piers.[1] Mosaics would have been either defaced or totally disintegrated.

Mr. G. Jeffery, who examined and took measurements of the remains of an ancient structure enclosed in buildings then occupied by the Russian Palestine Society, a structure which must have once been the Martyrion, is of the opinion that part of these remains belonged originally to a portico erected in the seventh century at the eastern end of the structure—in other words, that they were relics of the second or Modestine Martyrion.[2] In A.D. 637 this portico became a Moham-

[1] Compare the "restoration" of A.D. 1809–1811.

[2] *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. XVII. pp. 755 f. (August 27, 1910). See p. 128, above.

medan *masjid*, under circumstances which have already been related.[1]

Excluded from the eastern portico of the Martyrion, the Christians would naturally abandon the *atrium* lying between that portico and the "Street of the Column" or "Market Street." The doorways in the eastern wall of the Martyrion must have been walled up, and a new entrance arranged, either in the southern or in the western wall. Possibly this new entrance was the "Gate of S. Constantine" mentioned by Epiphanius. Arculf's plan, as already has been remarked, shows two doorways leading from the *parvis* into the Martyrion.[2] One of these may have been the new entrance into the church, the other being the entrance of the descent into the Helena-crypt.

"To the left of S. Constantine" there was, Epiphanius informs us, a picture of the Virgin Mary, representing her as preventing "Mary the devotee" from entering the church on the day of the "Exaltation of the Cross."[3] To the "left" of this again was the "House of Joseph" and "below" this house stood a group of four pillars,

[1] Above; ch. i., pp. 145–147.

[2] P. 176, n. 1.

[3] "Mary the devotee" (ἡ ὁσία Μαρία) is Mary of Egypt, who was converted from prostitution to asceticism. The day of the "Exaltation" here referred to is Sept. 14, A.D. 335: Part I. ch. iv., pp. 79–80; Part IV. ch. ii., p. 296.

marking the place where S. Helen met the funeral of a little maid and raised the dead to life again at the touch of the Lord's Cross.

"To the left of S. Constantine," i.e. "to the left of" the Martyrion, means to the *north* of that building, if Epiphanius is giving the direction, after the manner of Syria and Arabia, for one looking *eastward*.[1] The picture of the Virgin Mary, then, was to be seen somewhere to the north of the Martyrion. To the north of the place where the picture was, one came to the "House of Joseph," i.e. Joseph of Arimathea. "Below" this house were four pillars, which marked the place where a miracle had been wrought by the wood of the Saviour's Cross.

These four pillars or columns must have stood in or by the side of a street, for the miracle wrought was the resuscitation of a corpse which was being carried to burial. Now the Russian pilgrim Daniel, visiting Jerusalem in A.D. 1106, saw to the east of the little chapel which then occupied the site of the Martyrion (demolished in A.D. 1010), the gateway through which, so he was told, Mary the Egyptian sought one day to enter, in order to kiss

[1] The Arabs call Damascus, which lies to the north of Arabia, *Es-Sham*. "Shamálek" is Arabic for "to the left." Southern Arabia is *Yemen*. "Yaminek" is Arabic for "to the right." Compare Benjamin (Ben-Yamin) = "son of my right hand."

the holy Cross. Being prevented by the Holy Ghost, she prayed to the Virgin "whose picture was in the court hard by the gate," and the Virgin, taking compassion upon her, enabled her to enter the church. Near this gateway was shown the place where S. Helena ascertained which of the three crosses she had found was the one on which Christ had suffered death. The Lord's cross raised to life a girl who had given up the ghost.[1] The story told to Daniel by his guide (a Greek monk of S. Saba, probably) is (except in one detail) the story related—in a form so compressed as to be obscure—by Epiphanius. The four columns spoken of by Epiphanius are the "gateway" mentioned by Daniel. Possibly they had once formed part of the *propylæa* erected by Constantine, as Eusebius states in his biography of the Emperor. As they were "below" the "House of Joseph," and the "House of Joseph" was north of the Martyrion, the site of this house was most probably on the west side of, or westwards from the street in which the miracle was wrought, and this street is to be identified with the "Market Street" of Eusebius' description of Constantine's buildings. The picture of the Virgin Mary (who, according to Daniel's version of the legend, did *not* prevent, but enabled, Mary of Egypt to enter the Martyrion) was a wall-

[1] *Itinéraires Russes*, I. p. 18.

painting to be seen somewhere between the Martyrion and the "House of Joseph,"—north of the former, south of the latter. Daniel does not say that he saw this picture. Perhaps it had disappeared by the time of his pilgrimage, which took place more than two centuries after the compilation of Epiphanius' "guide-book." It must have adorned some building on the north side of the Martyrion—a building which fell into ruins, or was demolished, at some time between A.D 840 and A.D. 1106, most probably in A.D. 1010. The "House of Joseph" doubtless suffered the same fate.[1]

[1] According to the *Horologion* of the Greek Church, under the heading of April 2, Mary the Egyptian sought to accompany the multitude of the faithful into the Martyrion on the day of its consecration (Sept. 14, A.D. 335). She had led a very dissolute life, and on approaching the entrance of the church she felt herself held back as by an invisible hand. Conscience-stricken, she resolved to abandon the flowery paths of vicious pleasure for the thorny and stony road of austerity. Returning in this chastened frame of mind, she found herself no longer prevented from entering the courts of the Lord's House. Having adored the Cross, she set forth on the same day for the desert east of Jordan, and lived there in penitence, prayer and fasting for nearly fifty years, passing away at the age of seventy-six.

Saewulf (A.D. 1102–1103) mentions the picture of the Virgin, before which Mary of Egypt made her appeal to its original, as adorning the outer surface of the western wall of the Chapel of S. Mary the Virgin on the north side of the Anastasis: see Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 273–274 n.

Arculf speaks of the column at the head of the great street of Jerusalem (see Part I. ch. iii., pp. 55, 56) as marking the place of the miracle of the Cross: Geyer, p. 239, see also above, C. p. 172.

F. The Church of S. Mary.

"On the right-hand side of" the Anastasis, in Arculf's narrative, to the south of it in extant copies of his plan of the Sepulchre Church, there is a Church of S. Mary the Virgin-Mother. This building was square in ground plan, and had two entrances; one in its northern side (facing Golgotha), the other in its western. Lines drawn from the left-hand margin of the plan of the Sepulchre-Church to the quadrangular figure representing this Church of S. Mary are to be interpreted as a lane by which the church was approached from the west. This is not the stepped and terraced lane by which at the present day, and for a long time past, the Sepulchre-Church has been approached from that quarter. It answers to a flight of steps leading down from a Greek convent, situated to the north of the terraced lane, into the Chapel of the Trinity, the middle one of three chapels whose apses project into the *parvis* on the southern front of the Sepulchre-Church.[1]

This Church of S. Mary must have occupied a considerable portion of the ground enclosed in the existing *parvis*. If it were rebuilt, it would to a great extent mask the southern front of the Sepulchre-Church and leave at most only a narrow

[1] For these chapels, see Part III. ch. ii. § i., pp. 223–225.

passage between its western wall and the apses of the three chapels just referred to.[1]

The position of the Church of S. Mary was first clearly ascertained by Mr. G. Jeffery in 1895. In the *east* wall of the existing *parvis* or *atrium* there is a built-up arch, behind which is an apse, used by the Armenians as a chapel. The arch and the apse are all that remain of the Church of S. Mary, and they indeed are relics, not of the building seen by Arculf, but of a later one erected on its site in the eleventh century. The main body of the building was pulled down and removed by the Crusaders, in order to open out a court on the south side of the Sepulchre-Church.[2]

It will be seen that the Church of S. Mary was placed to the south of Golgotha, and if Arculf's phrase " a dextra parte " means " meridiem versus," he should have indicated the position of the church by reference to Golgotha rather than the Anastasis.

This Church of S. Mary is not mentioned in any document of the Roman epoch; it appears to have been an addition made by Modestus. But the site had in all probability been hallowed, at some

[1] In Arculf's time, Golgotha and the Anastasis had to be approached either through the church of S. Mary, or round one end of it. His plan does not indicate exactly what lay south of this church.

[2] *Journal of R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 761 (Sept. 24, 1910); p. 805 (Oct. 22, 1910).

time between A.D. 335 and 614, by being identified as the very place where our Lord's dead body had been prepared for entombment by Joseph and Nicodemus, in the presence of the Panaghia. This identification, like so many other identifications of the locality of events recorded in the Bible, was of course made in response to a general demand—especially a general demand urged by pilgrims.[1]

The "foursquare Church of S. Mary" must be carefully distinguished from the Church of S. Maria Latina, first mentioned by Bernard of Mont S. Michel, whose narrative places it close by the hospice founded and endowed by Charlemagne, early in the ninth century, for the reception of "pilgrims speaking the Latin tongue,"—i.e. pilgrims from Western or Latin Christendom. Charlemagne's hospice was erected upon a site lying to the south of the "foursquare Church of S. Mary."[2]

[1] At the beginning of the twelfth century, this church was certainly believed to stand over the place where Joseph and Nicodemus embalmed and shrouded the Lord's body for burial. See the citation from the pilgrim Saewulf (A.D. 1102–1103) in Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 273 n. "Iuxta locum Calvariæ ecclesia. S. Mariæ in loco ubi corpus Dominicum avulsum a cruce . . . fuit aromatisatum et linteo . . . involutum." The Crusaders marked the place further north. See Part III. ch. ii., pp. 237–238.

[2] *Journal R.I.B.A.* XVII. pp. 805–806 (Oct. 22, 1910).

Part III

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE IN THE EPOCH A.D. 1010–1240

CHAPTER I

EL-HAKEM [1]

In the line of the Fatimide Khalifs, whose throne was established in Egypt from A.D. 974 to 1171, the figure of El-Hakem bi-amr-Illah stands out with sinister prominence. At the time of his accession, in A.D. 996, to sovereignty over an empire extending from the Atlas Mountains to the Lebanons and Sinai, and from Alexandria far up the valley of the Nile, he was only eleven years of age, and the affairs of the Khalifate had consequently to be administered for some years by a regency. The beginning of his actual reign coincided very nearly with that of the eleventh century and preceded his attainment of his twentieth year. One of his tutors had nicknamed him "the lizard," because of his creeping, stealthy gait. Like as a lizard among the scattered stones of some ruined monument of the Pharaohs, so he

[1] The fourth and fifth chapters of Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's *Egypt in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1901) are the chief source from which the materials of this chapter have been drawn.

went stealthily in and out among the populace of Fostat, the city which had grown up over the ground where Amr, the Moslem conqueror of Egypt, had encamped in A.D. 640, and is now a suburb of Cairo.[1] Going to and fro in the streets of the city, and walking up and down in the midst of it, being found in outward appearance as a townsman among townsmen, the young Khalif watched the faces of the people, noted their gestures and words, and sought to sound their minds. No doubt he came to know a great deal about them, but it is doubtful if he ever came to know them—certainly, he never learned sympathy for them.

"Iron hath power of itself to draw a man's hand unto it."[2] Possessing despotic power, El-Hakem in his turn became possessed by a mania for exercising that power with stringency and rigour. For him, the exercise of power was an end in itself. He delighted in imposing his will upon his subjects, and in the thought that they groaned under his yoke. Moslems suffered under that yoke, hardly less than Christians. Under the pretext of enforcing the pristine Moslem ideal of plain living, he prohibited not only the drinking of wine and every strong drink, but even the eating of honey or dried

[1] Cairo began with the building of El-Kahira, the great palace of the Fatimide Khalifs, in A.D. 969.

[2] Homer, *Odyssey* XIX. 13—*αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος.*

raisins, and made the playing of chess a capital crime. A ferocious police-law, rigorously enforced, ordered the decapitation of any person who on his own authority ventured out of doors after nightfall. This of course would be a deterrent to thieves and assassins, but the procedure might be compared with the burning down of a house in order to exterminate rats and mice. Simple decapitation appears to have been the mildest penalty appointed for the contravention of any of these ordinances, in which an insane cruelty displayed itself under a mask of Puritanism. Verily, the Khalif "taught" his people "with briars." The fiendishness that was the ruling element in his nature comes to view in the horrible story of the army-commander who saved him in A.D. 1007 from his Omeyyade rival Abu-Rakwa. When the rival Khalif had been finally defeated, captured, and (together with thirty thousand of his followers) beheaded in Nubia, El-Hakem's victorious general repaired to El-Kahira the palace, and the presence of the "Commander of the Faithful." At the moment when he entered the presence, the Khalif was engaged in dismembering the corpse of a child which he had just murdered. The general went to his own house, full of horror, and knowing that death followed close upon his footsteps. An hour later, the executioner was at his door.

El-Hakem's mother was a Christian, and under her protection Christians had prospered in Egypt in the reign of El-Hakem's father Aziz. For the chastisement of Christians and Jews, El-Hakem had issued special ordinances. Yet he was politic enough to recognize and avail himself of the capabilities and talents which made them generally more useful and efficient than Moslems in certain departments of the state-administration.

In the year 1010 the Khalif resolved upon the destruction of all Christian houses of prayer in his dominions.[1] The particular mandate which ordered the demolition of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had to be signed by a Christian, the vizier Ibn-Abdun.

El-Hakem's motive in taking this drastic measure against the religion of a considerable number of his subjects is variously reported. According to one story, which was put in circulation immediately after the event, the Jews of Orleans bribed an apostate Christian to carry, secreted in a staff, a letter addressed to the Khalif and warning him that the Franks were preparing to invade Palestine. Chroniclers of the Crusades represented El-Hakem's decree for the destruction of Christian churches

[1] The date is given as A.H. 398 by some Moslem historians. A.H. 398 = A.D. 1008. S. Lane-Poole, op. cit. p. 127, states that the persecution of Christians lasted from A.D. 1007 to 1012.

as designed to clear him from the suspicion of being a "Nazarene" which had gathered against him among the Moslems in consequence of the fact that his mother had been a Christian and that the Khalif Aziz had appointed her brothers, Jeremias and Arsenius, to be Melchite (i.e. Greek) patriarchs of Jerusalem and Alexandria respectively. A third account of the matter, given by Abulfaragius Barhebraeus, relates how "an enemy of the Christian religion" went to the Khalif with a malicious story about the Holy Fire, representing that ceremony as a vile fraud. Yet another account was bequeathed to posterity by Severus, bishop of Eshmuneyn (Hermopolis Magna) in Egypt. A Coptic priest, who had solicited consecration to a bishopric from his Patriarch (the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria) and had met with repeated refusals, wrote a letter to the Khalif, to the following effect: "Thou art king over this land, but the Nazarenes have a king far more mighty because of the riches he hath heaped up. He selleth bishoprics for money, and his works are displeasing to God." The Moslem historian Makrizi attributes the persecution of the Christians to their greed and insolence, which had waxed great under the protection and favour they had enjoyed.[1]

The story of the Jews of Orleans was probably

[1] Williams, *H.C.* I. pp. 346–351.

invented for the justification of outbreaks of Anti-Semitism which took place about that time in France.[1] The second, third, and fourth accounts may be regarded as the offspring of bazaar-rumour, adopted in monastic "circles." The fifth is a Moslem representation of a particular instance of the policy of alternate *patrocinium* and *latrocinium* generally followed by Moslem princes in dealing with Christians. Mr. Lane-Poole's explanation may be accepted as the most probable one. "The penalties inflicted upon Christians," he writes, "were more a part of a general contempt of mankind than a sign of special dislike to one section."[2]

The order for the demolition of the Church of the Sepulchre ran as follows: "The Imâm[3] commands you to destroy the temple of the Resurrection, so that its heaven may become earth and its length may become breadth."[4] The Anastasis and its companion-churches were "laid on heaps." An attempt was even made to disintegrate and remove the rock of the Sepulchre, but this part of the work of destruction was abandoned before attaining its appointed end. Probably the destroyers became weary of chipping away at the hard

[1] Id. op. cit. p. 346 and notes.

[2] Lane-Poole, op. cit. p. 128.

[3] As used by El-Hakem, this title set forth a claim to be a manifestation of the Deity.

[4] Williams, *H.C.* I. p. 349.

limestone mass, which yielded to their exertions much less easily than masons' work and mosaics. Radulfus Glaber, bishop of Périgueux, who witnessed the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, reported that the Sepulchre-rock proved itself miraculously impenetrable to the instruments brought to bear upon it. But though careful investigations carried out in later times have made it certain that the rock-vault described to Abbot Adamnan by Arculf has disappeared, they have also shown that some of the original rock still remains.[1] There is no occasion to which the disappearance of the rock-vault can be referred with so much probability as the demolition ordered by El-Hakem, and thus it may be inferred that those who were told off to break up the rock from top to bottom ceased from their labours when they had removed its upper part.

Two years later, El-Hakem diverted his activities of oppression from the Christians to the Moslems, especially those who inhabited Fostat. Infuriated by a pasquinade exhibited in the hand of a lay-figure dressed up in a woman's attire, the Khalif despatched his Nubian palace-guards to sack and burn the town and carry off the women. Moslems, Christians, and Jews alike must have wondered

[1] Willis in Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 180–191 (cf. pp. 88–90); Williams, *H.C.* I. p. 349, n. 3.

whether God indeed beheld, or beholding, cared for, the things done upon earth when the homicidal maniac who claimed to be his highest representative among men proclaimed himself an incarnation of the Supreme Being, and called upon them all to worship his name. Certain enthusiasts from Persia assembled in the plain and unadorned, but most venerable, Mosque of Amr in Fostat, and set up preachers to announce the new revelation. When one of these preachers invoked the name of "El-Hakem, the Compassionate, the Merciful," in imitation or rather adaptation of the established Mohammedan formula of invoking the Deity, those who clave to the faith of their fathers arose and slew the blasphemer and all who held of his part. The Khalif bided his time for revenge. When the agitation had subsided he sent his Nubians once more into Fostat, to plunder, maltreat, rape, and slay.

As God Incarnate, El-Hakem fell away from devotion to the Mohammedan ideal as it had been exemplified in Moslems of "the old School" like Omar and Amr. The Mohammedan laws of fasting and pilgrimage were rescinded. Although Christians and Jews could not accept him as God manifest in the flesh any more than Moslems could, yet it was against the Moslems chiefly that he raged during the last years of his reign. The Christians

obtained relief from the persecution begun in 1010, and were permitted to rebuild their churches. Many of them, who had become nominal converts to Islam, resumed the profession of Christianity, now that the storm was overpast. Let those who are absolutely assured that under no conceivable circumstances would they apostatize be the first to cast stones at these "weaker brethren." But before they gather up the weapons of their holy indignation, let them bethink themselves what living under persecution may mean. They will find much to enlighten them in the history of the Armenian nation since 1893. They will find much, again, in the history of Belgium and the German prison-camps from 1914 to 1918.[1]

It is an extraordinary fact, but a fact it is, that El-Hakem reigned as khalif for twenty-five years. Odious though he made himself by his bloodthirstiness and cruelty, yet he was never an object of contempt. *Oderint, dum metuant,* would have been the avowed principle of his government, had he been learned in the Latin tongue. The courage with which he would ride forth, mounted upon an ass, and unaccompanied by any guard, even at times when the fires of hate were burning most

[1] Let it also be remembered that Orestes, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, was put to death after being blinded and tortured. See Williams, *H.C.* I. p. 349.

fiercely against him in the hearts of the people, had the effect of daunting would-be assassins. From his father Aziz he inherited the blue eyes which are to Arabs an object of dread. He was addicted to astrology and magic, and doubtless was believed to be able to call spirits from the vasty deep, and make them come when he did call for them.

But an end must come to every reign of terror. Incorruptibles, blue-eyed or sea-green of complexion, incarnations of the Supreme Being or prophets of the Supreme Reason, come at long last to corruption, cast forth as abominable branches, engulfed in the darkness of Abaddon. El-Hakem was wont to ride forth at night to the Gebel Mokattam, the arid limestone range which looks down upon Cairo from the east, and there watch the stars or perform magical incantations. On the night of February 13, A.D. 1021, he rode out accompanied by only two attendants, whom he dismissed before he himself returned from the solitudes of the mountain-range. Some days later, the ass on which he had ridden was found, maimed and mutilated; also his coat,[1] with rents in it made by knives or daggers. His body was never found. Four years later (A.D. 1025) a man confessed that

[1] It was a coat of seven colours, the colours doubtless representing the seven planets.

he had slain El-Hakem, out of zeal for God and Islam, but he may only have been a victim of that peculiar form of mania, well known now to the police in all countries, which makes people claim to have committed great and notable crimes in which they really have had no part or lot. At any rate, there were many who did not believe this man's confession, but were persuaded that El-Hakem, though he had disappeared, was not dead, and would some day re-appear. To this day the Druses of the Lebanon, a sect founded by one Darazi, who had preached the divinity of the Khalif in Fostat, and had been saved by him from the fury of the orthodox populace, believe that the Supreme Being was truly incarnate in El-Hakem, and will once more reveal himself in a new manifestation of that chosen vessel, coming to judge the earth.

One thing appears certain, with regard to the manner in which El-Hakem was overtaken by death. He was slain by the agents of a palace-conspiracy. The Turkish and Berber troops in his service were jealous of the privileges enjoyed by the Nubian guards. Their officers formed a conspiracy, which was joined by El-Hakem's sister, a person of no small importance in the society of the " sacred palace " of the Khalifate. In reply to remonstrances on her part against his cruelties,

he had accused her of unchastity. This she may well have interpreted as a notice to prepare for death. To save the Fatimide succession, which had become endangered by El-Hakem's criminal lunacy, as well as her own neck, she joined the conspirators.

CHAPTER II

THE BUILDINGS OF CONSTANTINE MONOMACHUS AND THE CRUSADERS

(Plates C, D (3), E, and F.)

In A.D. 1012 El-Hakem's anti-Christian fury had abated, and permission had been given by him to rebuild the ruined churches. Some thirty years, however, passed by before the rebuilding of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre actually began. El-Hakem's son and successor Ez-Zahir consented in A.D. 1027 to a treaty with the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VIII, the terms of which were that in return for the Khalif's permission to restore the Church of the Sepulchre in Jerusalem the Emperor should rebuild the mosque which had been founded in Constantinople, and issue instructions to make prayer for Ez-Zahir in all mosques situated within the East-Roman Empire.[1] But so far as the Church of the Sepulchre was concerned, no action was taken upon this agreement. There were wars

[1] Lane-Poole, *Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 136. Note the existence of mosques in the Byzantine or East-Roman Empire, and even in Constantinople, in the eleventh century.

between Constantine's successors, Romanus Argyrus (A.D. 1028–1034) and Michael Paphlagon (A.D. 1034–1041), on the one side and the Emirs of Syria and Cilicia on the other. These conflicts did not absolutely put a stop to pilgrimages, but they rendered the general condition of affairs very unfavourable to such an enterprise as the rebuilding of a great Christian sanctuary in a Moslem-ruled land by subjects of a Christian sovereign who was one of the belligerents.

In A.D. 1037 the agreement made between Ez-Zahir and Constantine VIII was renewed by the Khalif El-Mustansir and the Emperor Michael Paphlagon, who obtained the Khalif's consent to the rebuilding of the Church of the Sepulchre in return for the repatriation of five thousand Moslem prisoners of war. It was not, however, until the reign of Constantine IX, surnamed Monomachus, who became Emperor in A.D. 1042, that the work on the Anastasis and the Golgotha-Church with the Church of S. Mary immediately adjoining it was completed, and the Martyrion was not rebuilt at all.[1]

The year 1048 is generally given as the date of the cessation—it cannot properly be called the completion—of the work of building up the waste

[1] Lane-Poole, op. cit. l.c. Willis in *H. C.* II. p. 269 (see also I. pp. 353–4).

places of Golgotha and the Sepulchre. The Persian traveller, Nasr-i-Khusrau, visiting Jerusalem in A.D. 1047 makes no mention of any building operations as still in progress, and one might infer from his narrative that they had ceased. That narrative, however, deals only with the Anastasis, and work on other structures might still be some way from completion.[1]

The devastation committed at El-Hakem's command had interrupted pilgrimages for a time, but they had begun again some years before the work of reparation had even been taken in hand. The pilgrimage of the hermit Simeon is dated A.D. 1023; that of Odolric, bishop of Orleans, A.D. 1033; that of Robert, Duke of Normandy, A.D. 1034.[2] Easter, of course, was the great season of pilgrimage. It is possible that the ceremony of the Holy Fire, which is first mentioned by Bernard of Mont S. Michel (A.D. 867), was invented for the purpose of encouraging pilgrims, especially pilgrims from Western Europe, to brave the hardships and perils of travelling. In the interval between the demolition and the restoration of the Church of the Sepulchre, some beginning must have been made in the removal

[1] For Nasr-i-Khusrau, see Lestrange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 204.

[2] Williams, *H. C.* I. p. 353, n. 7. Besant and Palmer, *History of Jerusalem*, p. 145 f.

of débris, and temporary structures were doubtless erected over Golgotha, the mutilated remnant of the Sepulchre rock, the Place of the Descent from the Cross, the Crypt of S. Helena, and the rest of the holy sites.

The records of pilgrimage in the eleventh century, however, contain no description of the buildings of Constantine Monomachus. Nasr-i-Khusrau's narrative is the only one of all the eleventh-century chronicles or travel-books which contains any such description, and, as already has been noticed, it is concerned only with the Anastasis. Fortunately, however, two documents survive, which date back to the earliest years of the twelfth century and describe the Church of the Sepulchre as the Crusaders found it when they captured Jerusalem in July, A.D. 1099. The buildings described in these documents must have been those of Constantine Monomachus, for though there is record of various forms of oppression practised by the Seljuk Turks during their twenty years' occupation of Jerusalem, A.D. 1076–1096, there is none of a demolition of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[1]

The documents referred to are the pilgrim-narratives of Saewulf, an English merchant who ended his days as a monk at Malmesbury, and of

[1] On the ill-treatment of pilgrims by the Seljuks, see any history of the Crusades.

Daniel, a Russian hegoumen or abbot, whose monastery may be conjectured to have been at some place in the northern part of Little Russia. Saewulf took ship at Monopoli in Apulia on July 13, A.D. 1102, and embarked on his return journey at Jaffa (Joppa) on Whitsunday, May 17, A.D. 1103. Daniel's sojourn in the Holy Land lasted, as he himself states, a year and four months. This period began in A.D. 1106 and ended in A.D. 1107, not very long (it would seem) after Easter.[1] The buildings added by the Crusaders were dedicated on July 15, A.D. 1149, the fiftieth anniversary of the capture of Jerusalem by the armies under the command of Godfrey of Bouillon, Tancred of Sicily, and Raymond of Toulouse. It is impossible to suppose that they were fifty years in building. A modern author, who has made a special study of the existing structures and their past history, thinks that the work of the Crusaders was com-

[1] *Saewulf*: see Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, Intr. pp. xx.–xxi. (also pp. 31, 47, 48), and Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, vol. II. (A.D. 900–1260) pp. 139–155. It is possible that Saewulf's narrative was written down at his dictation by another person (a monk of Malmesbury, likely enough), who also wrote it "up" here and there from recollection of other narratives. This, however, is not at all certain. *Daniel*: see *Itinéraires Russes*, t. I. pp. 3, 5, and 82; Beazley, op. cit. II. pp. 157–174. In both cases, Mr. Beazley goes very thoroughly into the indications of chronology contained in the narratives themselves. So far indeed as Saewulf was concerned, the work had already been done by M. d'Avezac and Mr. Wright.

pleted in a period of twenty years.[1] On this reckoning, no additions can be supposed to have been made, or even begun, earlier than A.D. 1129, i.e., more than twenty years after Abbot Daniel's return to his monastic home in Russia.

The descriptions left by Saewulf and Daniel agree in all the essential points. Taking them in combination, we find that the group of buildings already in existence in A.D. 1099—i.e. the buildings of Constantine Monomachus—consisted of the following members. I. A circular domed church, containing the Sepulchre and flanked on the north by a Chapel of S. Mary the Virgin, on the south by a chapel of S. John, beyond which again (i.e. farther to the south) were Chapels of the Holy Trinity and S. James the Brother of the Lord. II. A church or chapel enclosing the traditional Place of the Crucifixion, having to the south of it a Chapel of S. Mary the Virgin marking the place where the body of the Lord was embalmed and robed for burial. III. A small chapel over the Place of the Finding of the Cross. Between the circular church (i.e. the Anastasis), the Church of Golgotha, and the place of the Finding of the Cross there lay, as aforetime, an *atrium* or open court. Around this court were certain oratories, which

[1] G. Jeffery, F.R.I.B.A., in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, XVII., p. 718 (August 27, 1910).

G. Apse used for the
(These three apse
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H. Doorway between
I. Chapel of S. Mary t
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N. The Church of Go
P. The "Exedra" (cha
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Q. The steps leading
W. The Helena Chapel.
Martyrion, whic
century.
X. The crypt of the
R. A portico or cloiste
V. The "Carcer Chris
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S. The *atrium* (Arculf'
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Plate B.

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e. The "Well of S. H

f. The outer door of t
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g. The Altar of Abral

Note. Willis appears
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burial. This, however,
"Place of the Anointin
facts. There is much
the *south* of Golgotha, a
the east side of the par

were said to mark places associated in history or legend with the Passion of Christ,—the "Prison," the place where the Lord was scourged (marked by a column), the place where he was arrayed by the soldiers in a scarlet robe and mockingly saluted as "King of the Jews," and the place where they parted his garments among them, and cast lots upon his vesture. Close up against the east wall of the circular church, and sheltered by a small building, was the object shown to pilgrims as the centre of the earth.

Across the street which formed then, as it does now, the southern boundary of the precinct within which lay Golgotha, the Sepulchre, and the Crypt of the Cross, stood the Church of S. Maria Latina,[1] and close to it another church dedicated to the same saint and distinguished as S. Maria Parva.

The most notable difference between the restoration carried out by Modestus in A.D. 614–629 and the restoration carried out at the charges of Constantine Monomachus was that in the latter no attempt was made to rebuild the Martyrion. It is even doubtful whether the "little church" mentioned by Daniel as occupying the site, or part of the site, of the Martyrion was erected above ground or was merely the crypt-chapel of S. Helena.

[1] See page 187, above.

The ruins of the Martyrion were still cumbering the ground when the Crusaders captured Jerusalem, and remained for a considerable time after that event—in fact, until the erection of the Augustinian Priory was begun.[1]

Reasons have already been given for assuming the existence of a Chapel of S. Mary on the north of the Anastasis, and a Chapel of the Forty Martyrs on the south, as far back as the ninth century.[2] The latter, occupying the site of the Chapel of S. John the Evangelist mentioned by Saewulf, is called the Chapel of S. John the Evangelist and the Forty Martyrs in the *Proskynêtarion* ("Pilgrims' Guide") of Chrysanthos, a modern production.[3] The two chapels to the south of this (viz. those of the Holy Trinity and S. James) are not mentioned in any document of earlier date than Saewulf's narrative, and therefore may be regarded as additions made in the eleventh-century restoration.

An altar and sacrarium or presbytery appear in Daniel's description of the round Church of the Anastasis, and the description implies that the altar was set in the easternmost part of that build-

[1] Quotation from a *scriptor anonymus*, whose work is incorporated in *Gesta Dei per Francos*; see Willis in *H. C.* II. pp. 274–275 and n. on p. 275.

[2] Part II, pp. 163, 181–184.

[3] Willis in *H. C.* II. p. 211. See Plate D (3).

ing. Professor Willis was of the opinion that the Anastasis, as restored in the eleventh century, was not built in a complete circle outside the arcade surrounding the Sepulchre and supporting the inner wall and cupola, but presented on its eastern front a rectilinear wall, from which projected three apses. The middle apse contained (or backed) the altar; the other two, which he supposes to have been of smaller dimensions, after the Byzantine manner, served as *prothesis* and *diakonikon* respectively.[1]

Documents relating to the Church as it stood and appeared in the latter part of the twelfth century are decidedly more numerous than those which relate to the earlier epoch. Besides the pilgrim-narratives of John of Würzburg (A.D. 1150),

[1] *H. C.* II. Plate I. Fig. 3. With regard to *prothesis* and *diakonikon*, see Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford, 1896), pp. 586 and 587. The term *prothesis* denotes (1) "the office or act of setting forth the oblation, including the arrangement of the bread on the paten, the mixing of the chalice and the veiling" in preparation for the offering and consecration upon the Holy Table or altar; (2) the bread and the wine as prepared for consecration; (3) the place in which the rite of preparation is performed, being an apse or recess north of the Holy Table. The term is also used to denote (4) the table on which the bread and the wine are prepared. *Diakonikon* ("sacristy"—also called skevophylakion) is the chamber or recess in which the sacred vessels and ministerial vestments are kept (its proper custodian is a deacon). It stands south of the Holy Table. It was originally the place where the ritual of the *prothesis* was performed.

Theodoric (A.D. 1175) and Willibrand of Oldenburg (A.D. 1211), there are notices and descriptions in the history of Archbishop William of Tyre (A.D. 1174), the *Geography* of El-Idrisi (A.D. 1154), and the travels of Ali of Herat (A.D. 1173). Furthermore, and of especial value, there is the information contained in a Pilgrims' Guide to Jerusalem written in French under the title of *La Citez de Iherusalem*, about the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.[1]

The Crusaders added to the buildings of Constantine Monomachus a church of considerable dimensions, and thus in a sense repaired the loss inflicted by the destruction of the Martyrion. But instead of erecting it upon the site of the Martyrion, they built it over the *atrium* or open court west of that site, and in immediate juxtaposition to the Anastasis. The three apses mentioned above were

[1] (*a*) In addition to these contemporary sources of information, the great multitude of later documents produced at various times down to the opening years of the nineteenth century is available for the drawing-up of a description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as it existed in the later years of the Kingdom of Jerusalem—i.e. A.D. 1149–1187. The church was plundered and villainously defaced and defiled by the savage Kharizmians in A.D. 1244, but not demolished. The fire of A.D. 1808, however, makes as sharp a division in the history of the building as the demolition at El-Hakem's command in A.D. 1010.

(*b*) Quotations from the Moslem writers El-Idrisi and Ali of Herat in Lestrange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 207f. Text of *La Citez de Iherusalem* in Williams, *H. C.* I. p. 133f.

taken down, and direct communication between the Anastasis and the new building was provided through an arch of great height and width already existing in the eastern wall of the former, this arch having heretofore formed (in the ground-plan) the base of the middle apse. North and south of this arch, others were constructed, which provided direct communication between the aisles of the new church and the ambulatory of the Anastasis. The existing Golgotha-chapel was (in part, at least) taken down, the Place of the Crucifixion with the Chapel of Adam below it being enclosed in the south transept of the new church. The colonnade leading along the north side of the *atrium* became an outer north aisle, terminating in the "Prison." The oratories believed to mark the places of the scourging, the mocking, and the division of the garments became small apsidal chapels opening to north-east, east and south-east out of an ambulatory encircling the sacrarium where the high altar was set. A doorway inserted between the east and south-east oratories gave access to the stone stairway leading down into the Crypt-chapel of S. Helena.

The eastern extremity of the new church (i.e. the outer wall of the "Chapel of the Division of the Garments") was set nearly, if not exactly, upon the line taken by the west wall of Constantine's

Martyrion.[1] No part of the new building covered the crypt of S. Helena. This was lighted by means of windows set in the drum of a cupola rising from the centre of a cloister-garth, which occupied a considerable portion—if not most—of the site of the Martyrion.

On the south side of the new church, the Chapel of S. Mary or the Descent from the Cross was taken down, all save its apsidal east end. A new *atrium*, *paradisus* or *parvis* was laid out, extending from the south wall of the new structure to the street running east and west between the Market and Patriarch Street. Along the west wall of this *atrium* projected the apses of the Chapels of S. John, the Trinity, and S. James, as they still do at the present day. The Chapel of S. John became the basement of a bell-tower. The arch of the surviving portion of the Chapel of the Descent from the Cross was enclosed and built up in the east wall of the *atrium*, but a doorway was provided to give access to the oratory within.[2] The Place of the Anointing was henceforth marked by a stone let into the pavement of the south transept of the new church, at a point

[1] The Martyrion must have entirely covered the crypt of S. Helena, even if it left the head of the stairway in the open air. The Crusaders' church does not cover any part of the crypt, but it includes the head of the stairway in the thickness of its outer wall.

[2] *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 824. See Plate F; 4, 58.

almost in a straight line westward from the Golgotha-rock. The new church was built for the service of a Priory of Augustinian Canons which was founded, according to Albert of Aix, in A.D. 1100 by Godfrey of Bouillon, but according to other authorities by King Baldwin II in A.D. 1120. The refectory, dormitory, and other chambers and offices provided for the Canons were built on the northern, eastern, and southern sides of the cloister-garth mentioned above. A door in the west walk of the cloister-garth opened into the ambulatory of the church, between the eastern and north-eastern side-chapels. Of the Priory buildings (excepting the church) nothing now remains but broken and tottering walls, among which are set the mud huts of an Abyssinian *laura* (Plate C.).

The Priory of the Holy Sepulchre, with its noble church, was a manifestation of Provençal activity in religion and art. The Order of the Augustinian Canons had begun its existence at Avignon in A.D. 1061. The architectural style in which the Priory and its church were built had been developed in Provence, and the master-builder, Magister Jordanus, was a Provençal.

In the epoch of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (A.D. 1099–1187), the Augustinian Canons of the Holy Sepulchre took the place hitherto held by the Benedictines of S. Maria Latina as the most important

Latin ecclesiastical college in Jerusalem. The Abbot to whom their Prior was subordinate was the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Priory church was his cathedral.

When Jerusalem was regained for Islam by Saladin (A.D. 1187), the Prior and Canons of the Holy Sepulchre were dispossessed. The Priory church was made over, not long afterwards, to the Greek Orthodox, and ever since that time, with the exception of the transitory Latin occupation of Jerusalem from A.D. 1229 to 1244, it has been the cathedral of the Greek Patriarchs. The rest of the Priory buildings passed into Moslem hands. It is possible that they suffered great injuries at the hands of the Kharizmians, who sacked Jerusalem in A.D. 1244, and that they were used as a quarry from which material was taken for the rebuilding of the city-walls three years later. The Kharizmians plundered and grievously defaced the Anastasis, the Golgotha-chapel, and the Crusaders' (or Canons') church, but did not destroy them. After this visitation no great calamity befell the Church of the Holy Sepulchre until the 30th of September (O.S. = October 12, N.S.), A.D. 1808, when a great fire wrought such havoc that a very extensive measure of rebuilding was necessary. In this rebuilding, which was completed by September 13, A.D. 1810, the plan and dimensions of the mediæval struc-

tures were retained, but their beauty was not restored. The glory of the house in A.D. 1808 was not indeed the glory that had been seen six hundred years before. It was but a dim after-glow, but under the hands of builders working in much haste and with no taste at all, it suffered—so far at any rate as the interior of the church was concerned—a total eclipse. There is an abundance of material in the modern work, but no decoration worthy of the name.[1]

[1] On the subject of the Priory of the Holy Sepulchre and its church (the " Chorus Dominorum Sancti Sepulchri ") see Willis in *H.C.* II. pp. 213–236, with Plates II and III; Williams in *H.C.* I. p. 383; Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII., pp. 718–721, 809–821 and 825–826 (August 27 and October 22, 1910). The southern façade of the Crusaders' church, spared by the fire of A.D. 1808, still remains to show the difference between Latin architecture of the twelfth century and Greek building of the nineteenth. (See the frontispiece of this volume.)

CHAPTER III

DETAILS OF THE MEDIÆVAL BUILDINGS

I. The Entrances of the Church, and the Parvis or Atrium. (*Frontispiece.*)

Before A.D. 637, Golgotha and the Sepulchre could be approached either from the east, through the Martyrion, or from the south, through an open court occupying the site of the present *parvis*. After that date, and in consequence of Omar's appropriation of the eastern portico of the Martyrion as a Moslem oratory, another eastern entrance and approach may have been provided, but the southern entrance became the principal one. Two entrances existed in the twelfth century; one on the west side, the other (as before) from the south. The western entrance began in the street known in those days as Patriarch Street, nowadays as Christian Street, and was formed by an arched doorway leading to a flight of steps succeeded by a passage *à plein-pied*, at the end of which was a small courtyard, having on its western side the Chapel of

S. Mary now called the Chapel of the Apparition, and on its southern side a door leading into the outer north aisle of the Crusaders' church.[1]

This entrance was closed up by the Moslem authorities after the reconquest of Jerusalem in A.D. 1187, and has never since been opened again. The southern approach lay, as it still lies, over the *parvis* on that side, and through a great double portal in the south façade of the Crusaders' church. The eastern doorway of this portal is now walled up. Probably it has been in this condition ever since A.D. 1187. The reason for blocking it up was also the reason for closing the western entrance and approach—viz. to facilitate the collection of tribute from pilgrims by the Moslem rulers of the city.[2]

The general design of the southern façade of the Crusaders' church is characterized by Mr. G. Jeffery as "remarkable, if not unique." "Such an arrangement," he says, "of two stories of large pointed

[1] See the plan of the church in *J.R.I.B.A.*, p. 805 (Oct. 22, 1910) and the reproduction of a photograph of the "Porte Ste. Marie," i.e. the western entrance in Patriarch Street. This western entrance is mentioned by El-Idrisi: see Williams, *H. C.* I. Suppl. p. 131; Lestrange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 206. The outer north aisle of the Crusaders' church is the corridor leading to the so-called "Prison of Christ."

[2] *H.C.* II. pp. 234, 204 (*N.*: Willis made a mistake in supposing that the approach from the *Porte Ste. Marie* led into the triforium of the Anastasis).

arches of the same dimensions, the lower forming a double portal, the upper enclosing windows, does not recall any well-known European building, although the detail of the architecture is purely Occidental." The treatment of the outer order of arch-stones, which produces an effect "somewhat like that of an extended concertina of gigantic proportions, or of a starched frill," is quite unusual, he says, in a building of the transition from Romanesque to Gothic. It is, however, not quite unexampled, for Willis mentions a similar form of decoration as existing in the Church of La Martorana at Palermo.[1]

The spaces between the lintels and the arch-stones of the portal were treated with conspicuous difference. The space over the western or left-hand door was relieved with a geometrical pattern of hexagons and squares cut in the stone. That over the eastern or right-hand door (the door which is walled up) was filled with mosaic, the cement setting for which still remains in part.

The lintels are slabs of fine white stone, adorned with sculptures in which Mr. Jeffery finds "a very Provençal character," and secured by means of iron clamps to flat arches behind. On the western (left-hand) lintel three scenes from the Gospel story are carved, viz. the Raising of Lazarus, the entry

[1] *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 813; Willis in *H.C.* II. p. 234.

into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, and the Last Supper. On the eastern (right-hand) lintel are fantastic figures, around and among which winds a scroll of acanthus-foliage. The foliage, according to Mr. Jeffery, who bases his interpretation upon the mediæval "bestiary books," symbolizes the Tree of Life. Figures of centaurs and harpies represent evil spirits. Naked human figures represent human souls, for the entrapping and destruction of which the evil spirits lie in wait.[1]

The north-western corner of the *parvis* is occupied by the apse of the Chapel of S. John the Evangelist, above which rises a bell-tower. There was a bell-tower in that corner in the twelfth century,[2] but the existing structure dates from the century following, and is a monument of the Emperor Frederick the

[1] *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. pp. 825–826.

[2] El-Idrisi mentions a "Kanbinar" (i.e. *campanarium*, campanile, bell-tower) as standing over the "Bab-es-Salibieh" (Gate of the Crucifixion —i.e. of Golgotha), which he places south of the Anastasis. The "Bab-es-Salibieh" must be the great doorway described just above. There is nothing to show that a bell-tower ever stood *directly* over this entrance, but El-Idrisi (who did not write from personal observation) need not be understood in this sense. His description of the position of the "Kanbinar" existing in his time (A.D. 1150) agrees well enough with that of the bell-tower existing at the present day. *La Citez de Iherusalem* mentions "li clochiers dou Sepulcre" as near the Chapel of the Trinity on the one side, and Golgotha on the other. The Trinity-chapel stands immediately to the south of the Chapel of S. John the Evangelist, which forms the basement of the existing tower. See the frontispiece and Plate C.

Second of Hohenstaufen, who crowned himself King of Jerusalem in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the 18th of March, A.D. 1229.[1]

When Saladin reconquered the Holy City for Islam (A.D. 1187), the ringing of bells ceased; the bells, indeed, were thrown down out of the belfries and dashed in pieces, and the belfries themselves must have suffered no small damage in the course of these operations.[2] The upper part of the bell-tower of the Church of the Sepulchre may have become quite ruinous by the time of Frederick of Hohenstaufen's arrival in Jerusalem. As the treaty he had made with the Sultan of Egypt had provided that Jerusalem should be under Christian occupation for ten years, and the agreement might possibly be renewed, he might very naturally think it worth while to rebuild the dilapidated belfry over the Church of the Sepulchre. It was rebuilt in four stories, three being square and the fourth octagonal. This fourth story was crowned with a pointed dome. The architecture of the first three stories was, to quote Mr. Jeffery, "of a very ordinary thirteenth-century Gothic pointed-arch detail." The fourth

[1] Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 816; Röhricht, *Gesch. Kgr. Jerusalem*, pp. 790–792. Frederick stayed only two days in Jerusalem (March 17–19), but if he was at charges for the erection of the bell-tower, it may justly be regarded as his monument.

[2] Röhricht, op. cit. p. 464.

and uppermost story was more distinctive, the dome crowning the octagon being an architectural form of which several examples are (or were) to be found in mediæval churches of the Rhineland.[1]

The octagonal top story, with its dome, was still in existence at the end of the fifteenth century, but by the end of the sixteenth it had disappeared.[2] The restored bell-tower served its purpose for not more than fifteen years, and then bell-ringing in Jerusalem ceased once more for six centuries. After the Kharizmian invasion, which befell in A.D. 1244, Jerusalem remained in undisputed Moslem possession until December 10, A.D. 1917, and it was only in the course of the last century of that epoch that the prohibition of bell-ringing was relaxed.

As already has been observed, the basement of the tower is formed by the Chapel of S. John the Evangelist, also called the Chapel of the Forty Martyrs.[3] Next to it, to the south, is the Chapel of the Trinity, better known in modern times (to Greeks, at all events) as the Church of the Myrophori, i.e. the Ointment-bearers, the women who brought spices and unguents to the Sepulchre on

[1] Jeffery, l.c.

[2] It is shown in illustrations accompanying the narratives of Breydenbach (Munich, A.D. 1486) and Noë (Venice, A.D. 1500). Morison describes the tower as ruinous; he saw it in A.D. 1596.

[3] I.e. the forty Martyrs of Sebastê (Sivas) in Armenia. See p. 210 and Part II, p. 159 f., above.

the morning of the Resurrection.[1] At the beginning of the twelfth century it appears to have been the chapel of a convent, also serving as a parish church, for there was a baptistery in it. Later in the century its parochial character was still preserved, for it is spoken of in a document which certainly is not of earlier date than A.D. 1187, as the church in which all the baptisms and marriages were performed.[2] Apparently it has retained this character down to the present day. The Russian merchant Basil, who visited Jerusalem in A.D. 1466, calls this sanctuary the Church of the Panachrantos[3] ("the All-Stainless," i.e. the Virgin Mary) and says that "within, on the right-hand side, near the door of the sacrarium"—the place in which the altar was set—"is the place where Christ brought Adam and Eve and all Christians out of Limbo."[4]

To the south again, next to the Chapel of the Trinity, is the Chapel of S. James "the Brother of

[1] Luke xxiii. 55–xxiv. 2; Mark xv. 40–41, xvi. 1–2.

[2] Saewulf (A.D. 1103) in Willis, *H.C.* II. p. 274 n.: *La Citez de Iherusalem* (*circà* A.D. 1200) in *H.C.* I. Suppl. p. 135. It is not stated whether these baptisms and marriages were all of one rite only, or whether they were performed according to Western as well as Eastern rites.

[3] ἡ παρθένος ἡ πανάχραντος=ἡ ἀειπάρθενος (ever-virgin).

[4] *Itin. Russes*, I. p. 253: Christians=true believers, ὀρθόδοξοι (a term which, for a Greek or a Russian, had a very definite meaning). See the story of the Harrowing of Hell in the Gospel of Nicodemus.

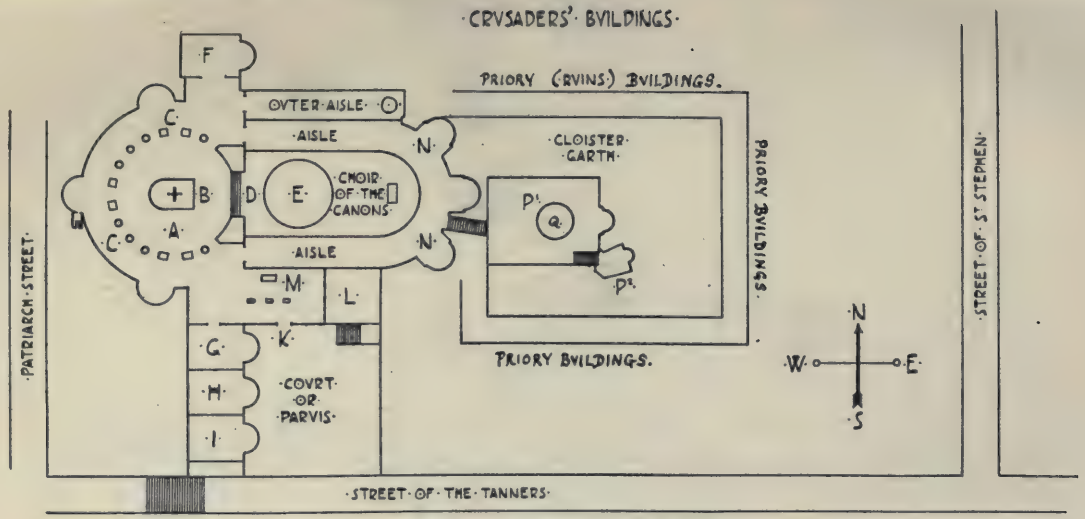

PLATE C.—CRUSADERS' BUILDINGS.

A. Anastasis (ecclesia rotunda).
B. Sepulchre.
CC. Ambulatory of Anastasis, with recesses and Tomb of Nicodemus and Joseph.
D. Arch between Anastasis and Canons' Choir.
E. Cupola over Canons' Choir.
F. Chapel of S. Mary the Virgin (the Apparition).
G. Chapel of S. John the Evangelist.
H. Chapel of the Trinity (or the Forty Martyrs).
I. Chapel of S. James the Brother of the Lord.
K. Great South Doorway.
L. Golgotha.
M. "Stone of Anointing."
N, N. Ambulatory of Choir, with apses.
O. "Prison of Christ."
P¹. Crypt of S. Helena.
P². Crypt of the Inventio Crucis.
Q. Cupola over Crypt of S. Helena.

The level of the Parvis is about thirty feet below that of Patriarch Street.

[*To face page 224.*

the Lord" (ὁ ἀδελφόθεος), the first bishop of Jerusalem. The Franciscan Quaresimus, who was Superior of the Convent of S. Saviour in Jerusalem about A.D. 1620, has preserved a legend relating that in this sanctuary S. James first celebrated mass.[1]

When the Byzantine Church of S. Mary (or of the Descent from the Cross) was taken down by the Crusaders, the apse at its eastern end was left standing and the arch at the base of the apse was walled up flush with the new eastern wall of the *parvis*. The cell thus formed became an oratory, a door being provided in the wall to give entrance, and this oratory, which ultimately passed into the hands of the Armenians, is to be identified with the "Prison of John the Baptist" shown to Basil Posniakov in A.D. 1560 or 1561.[2]

An interesting memorial of an English Crusader who came to Jerusalem in company with the Emperor Frederick II in A.D. 1229 and died in the Holy City in A.D. 1236 was discovered not very

[1] *Itin. Russes*, I. p. 253: Willis in *H.C.* II. p. 211. Saewulf asserts that the three Chapels of S. James, the Trinity, and S. John, the Anastasis, and the Chapel of S. Mary north of the Anastasis were so arranged that there was a continuous vista from end to end of the series through the doors of communication; see *H.C.* II. pp. 210, 272, 274 n. Mr. Jeffery (*J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 762) doubts whether the three southern chapels, as they now stand, are eleventh-century Byzantine work, but he offers no conjecture of the epoch of their reconstruction.

[2] *H.C.* II. p. 235: *Itin. Russes*, I. pp. 318–319; see p. 214, n. 2, above.

long ago when an old stone platform, formerly used by the Moslem *Kapujis*,[1] was removed from its position in front of the great southern portal. A tombstone was then discovered, with the following inscription :

† HIC : IACET : PHILIPPVS : DE
AVBINGNI : CVIVS : ANIMA : RE
QVIESCAT : IN PACE : AMEN : †

Philip d'Aubigny, Governor of the Channel Islands, was one of King John's Council at the time of the signing of Magna Charta. He was afterwards appointed tutor to King Henry III.[2] Eleven years later, at furthest, he must have been relieved of this charge, for in A.D. 1227 Henry ceased to be under tutors and governors. D'Aubigny was thus free to join the Crusade on which Frederick embarked in the summer of A.D. 1228.

II. Golgotha.

There were three approaches to the platform laid upon the place where, as the ancient tradition asserted, the Cross had been set up. All of them, of course, were ascents; two from within the church, one from without. The exterior approach led up a flight of steps built immediately to the right

[1] *Kapujis* (Grk. καπουτζῆδες)—anglicized plural of a Turkish word meaning "door-keeper." For a long time past these officials have had their station just within the great doorway.

[2] Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 729.

hand of the great double portal. At the head of these steps was a small domed chamber, forming the upper story of a square turret which occupied the north-east corner of the *parvis*. In the thirteenth or fourteenth century the Franciscans dedicated this chamber to the memory of the Agony of the Blessed Virgin, and inaugurated a tradition which represented it as marking the place where she stood watching the death of her Son upon the Cross.[1] What purpose it served in the twelfth century is not known.

From this domed chamber a doorway led into the Golgotha-chapel, which was enclosed within the south transept of the Crusaders' church. The chapel occupied (as it still does) a mezzanine floor fifteen feet above the floor of the transept.[2] To put the matter in another way, the main floor of the Golgotha-chapel, which lay at, or a few inches below, the level of the top of the Golgotha-rock, became a

[1] In the twelfth century, as we learn from Saewulf, the place where the Blessed Virgin stood watching the death of her son was pointed out under the altar of the Church of S. Maria Latina, which lay across the street to the south. But after the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the appropriation of S. Maria Latina by Moslems, it became necessary, if the place of the Agony of the Virgin was to be visited, to make a new discovery of it. Naturally, it was discovered anew in the immediate vicinity of Golgotha. See Willis in *H.C.* II. pp. 228, 272, and Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 823.

[2] *H.C.* II. pp. 225–228.

mezzanine floor in the new structure erected by the Crusaders. Stairways, forming the interior approaches to this sanctuary, led up to it from the transept, on the west, and from the aisle of the church, on the north. The southern half of the Golgotha-chapel was supported upon arches and vaulting. The northern half rested partly upon the Golgotha-rock, partly upon the arches and vaulting of the chamber identified as the Sepulchre of Adam, which terminated in an apse hollowed out of the rock, and may originally have been a rock-hewn burial-place.[1] In the top of the rock was a round hole, which was said to have been cut for the erection of the Lord's Cross,[2] and a fissure which was pointed to as a visible and tangible proof of the truth of S. Matthew's record of an earthquake rending the rocks and opening the graves on the day of the Crucifixion.

Abbot Daniel describes both the Golgotha-chapel existing at the time of his pilgrimage, viz. A.D.

[1] This arrangement was preserved in the rebuilding of the Golgotha-chapel after the fire of A.D. 1808, in which it suffered severe injuries. Since the thirteenth century, the southern half of the chapel has been the Latin Chapel of the Crucifixion, the northern being distinguished as the Greek (or, as it was from about A.D. 1350 to 1650, the Iberian) Chapel of the Exaltation of the Cross. See Plates E (10) and F.

[2] Hence the Greek name—ἡ ὕψωσις τοῦ σταυροῦ (the Exaltation of the Cross). *Three* holes were shown in later ages. The other two were cut at some time unknown between A.D. 1107 and 1560. See pp. 177–178, above.

1106–1107, and the Chapel or Sepulchre of Adam underneath, as adorned with mosaics and paved with fine marble. He mentions two mosaics in particular; one on the east wall of the Golgotha-chapel, representing the Crucifixion; the other on the south wall, representing the Descent from the Cross.[1] He does not say whether these two mosaics were external or internal decorations, but on the whole it seems more probable that they were internal. In the mosaic of the Crucifixion, he says, the figure of Christ was depicted in dimensions larger than life-size, and this statement might be taken as favouring an external position, in which there might be more space for a figure of colossal proportions. But a mosaic on the outer surface of the east wall of the chapel would not have been favourably placed for contemplation and veneration by the general multitude of worshippers, and this circumstance seems to decide the question in favour of an internal position. A mosaic of the Descent from the Cross set upon the outer face of the south wall would have looked down upon the spot pointed out at the time as the place where the body of the Lord was embalmed and wrapped in grave-clothes.[2] But if the great mosaic of the Crucifixion was an

[1] *Itin. Russes*, I. p. 15.

[2] This spot being then (A.D. 1106–1107) covered by a Chapel of S. Mary, which was subsequently taken down. See pp. 186, 187, 214 and 225, above.

internal decoration, that of the Descent from the Cross was most probably internal also.

The Crusaders would naturally keep as much as possible of the eleventh-century Byzantine ornamentation of the Golgotha-chapel and the Chapel of Adam when they incorporated those sanctuaries in the south transept of their new church. They might despise the Byzantines as "outsiders," whose refusal to acknowledge the supremacy of either the Holy Roman See or the Holy Roman Empire put them beyond the pale of genuine Christendom and "decent society," as persons of no higher standing than Moslems or Jews, but they did not despise the productions of Byzantine art.[1] Some alterations or additions may have been made when Golgotha was enclosed in the new fabric, but part at least—and probably no small part—of the ornamentation seen by Daniel at the beginning of the twelfth century remained to be seen nearly three hundred years later by another Russian pilgrim, the Archimandrite Grethenios, who visited Jerusalem about A.D. 1400. In the interval the Church of the Sepulchre had been plundered, profaned, and defaced by the Kharizmians (A.D. 1244),

[1] Byzantine artists and artisans were employed in building and embellishing S. Mark's at Venice and the cathedral at Monreale in Sicily. The products of Byzantine workshops—and of the Byzantine mint—were greatly in request in Latin or Western Europe.

yet Grethenios found the " vault above the Place of the Crucifixion "—i.e. the vaulted ceiling of the Golgotha-chapel—" richly gilded " and the chapel " all adorned with mosaics."[1]

Over the Golgotha-chapel, and on a level with the triforium-gallery of the Crusaders' church, is a square chamber known as the Chapel of Abraham and dedicated particularly to commemoration of the faith displayed by the patriarch in his obedience to the Divine command: " Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and offer him for a burnt-offering."[2] This chamber was not part of the Golgotha-chapel existing at the time of the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, but was added in the course of the erection of their Priory-church. According to Saewulf and Daniel, Golgotha itself was the place where Abraham " built an altar, and laid the wood in order, and bound Isaac his son, and laid him on the altar upon the wood."[3] The tradition they followed was in their

[1] *Itin. Russes*, I. p. 170; compare Morison, *Itinerary*, II. p. 25. De Vogüé, in 1860, reported traces of a mosaic portrait of our Lord on the vaulting: see *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 815.

[2] Genesis, xxii. 1–2.

[3] Genesis xxii. 9: Saewulf quoted in *H.C.* II. p. 273, " Postea ascenditur in Montem Calvariae, ubi Abraham patriarcha, facto altari, prius filium suum iubente Deo immolare voluit; ibidem postea Filius Dei, quem ipse [Isaac] praefiguravit, pro redemptione mundi Deo Patri immolatus est hostia ": Daniel in *Itin. Russes*, I. pp. 15–16, " Près de là se trouve l'autel d'Abraham,

day more than five centuries old, but it certainly did not originate in the primitive age of Christianity, for the place where Abraham prepared to sacrifice was then believed to be marked by the Temple.[1] Daniel mentions "an altar of Abraham," but places it near, not upon, the Golgotha-rock.[2] It may be conjectured that the Crusaders found it necessary, when they built the Priory and its church, to remove this altar, and that they transferred it to a chamber specially provided above the Golgotha-chapel. There is at the present day no communication between this chamber and the interior of the church, access being had only through the Greek Convent of Abraham which occupies the ground to the east of Golgotha and the *parvis*, but it is not

sur lequel il offrit son sacrifice à Dieu et immola un bélier à la place d'Isaac : le lieu où fut conduit Isaac est le même où la Christ a été amené en holocauste et immolé pour le salut de nous [autres] pécheurs." The altar seen and mentioned by Daniel may have stood in a little chapel behind (i.e. to the east of) the Golgotha-sanctuary, on the ground now (and for a long time past) occupied by the Greek Convent of Abraham, through which lies the only approach to the Chapel of Abraham over Golgotha.

[1] Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, pp. 140–141, 174 (narratives of Theodosius, A.D. 530, and Antoninus Placentinus, A.D. 570). For the identification of the Temple hill with the place of Abraham's sacrifice, see Driver on Genesis xxii. 2 and 14, and G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, I. p. 267.

[2] Arculf, in the seventh century, speaks of "Abraham's altar" as placed between Golgotha and the Martyrion, though the old-time plans in certain texts of his narrative place it on the north side of the *atrium*, i.e. near the "Prison."

certain that the chamber was always so isolated.[1]

Under the Golgotha-chapel—or, to be more precise, under its northern half—was (and still is) the Sepulchre, Grotto, or Chapel of Adam. The apse forming the eastern termination of this sanctuary is cut in the Golgotha-rock, and in it appears the downward continuation of the fissure shown in the plateau above. Fynes Morison, visiting Jerusalem in A.D. 1596, saw a skull set in this fissure, and was given to understand that it was the very skull of Adam, from which the place Golgotha had its name.[2] In this chapel Godfrey of Bouillon and two of the Crusader-princes who, coming after him, were kings in Jerusalem, were buried.[3] Godfrey's tomb was placed just within the entrance, on the left hand, i.e. the north-western corner of the chapel. His brother and immediate successor, King Baldwin I, was laid on the opposite (i.e. the south) side of the chapel, and just within the entrance. On the same side as Baldwin I's tomb, and farther within, a third tomb was set, but whether it enclosed the

[1] Since A.D. 1885 the Greek Patriarchs have permitted the use of this chapel to Anglicans.

[2] Morison, *Itinerary*, II. p. 25. This explanation of the name Golgotha (= κρανίον, calvaria) was already current in Origen's day, i.e. by the end of the second century C.E. See Part I. ch. v. E, pp. 133–135.

[3] Hence the grotto was also named the Chapel of Godfrey. Note that Godfrey would neither assume the title of king, nor wear a crown of gold in the city where the Lord had worn a crown of thorns. His successors were less scrupulous.

bones of Baldwin II or those of Fulk of Anjou is uncertain.

The tomb of Godfrey was inscribed with the following epitaph:

HIC · IACET · INCLYTVS · DVX · GODEFRIDVS · DE · BVLION · QUI · TOTAM · ISTAM · TERRAM · AC QVISIVIT · CVLTVI · CHRISTIANO · CVIVS · ANIMA · REGNET · CVM · CHRISTO · AMEN.[1]

Baldwin I's epitaph was composed in rough Latin verses:

REX · BALDVINVS · IVDAS · ALTER · MACHABEVS · SPES · PATRIAE · VIGOR · ECCLESIAE · VIRTVS · VTRIVSQVE · QVEM · FORMIDABANT · CVI · DONA · TRIBVTA · FEREBANT · CEDAR · ET · AEGYPTVS · DAN · AC · HOMICIDA · DAMASCVS · PROH · DOLOR · IN · MODICO · CLAVDITVR · HIC · TVMVLO.[2]

No inscription from the third tomb has been preserved. In later times this monument was identified as the tomb of Melchizedek.[3] This identification appears to have found general acceptance before the end of the fifteenth century.[4] But it certainly had not become generally accepted,

[1] Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem*, II. 47; Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 729. Godfrey died on July 18, A.D. 1100.

[2] Chateaubriand, l.c.; Jeffery, l.c.; Cedar=Kedar (Ps. cxx. 4). The epitaph consists of four hexameters and a pentameter, the shorter verse forming a cadence in a minor key. Baldwin I died on April 2, A.D. 1118.

[3] Willis in Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 232 n.; Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 817.

[4] The Tomb of Melchizedek in the Chapel of Adam is mentioned in the pilgrim-narrative of the Russian merchant Basil, A.D. 1465–1466; see *Itin. Russes*, I. p. 253.

even if it had been thought of, in the twelfth century, when the Grotto of Melchizedek was shown upon Mount Tabor in Galilee,[1] and no claim was made for the Crusader-Kings that they had their burial-place by the side of the tomb which held all that was mortal of the priest-king of Salem.[2]

The tombs of Godfrey and Baldwin I are described as follows by Willis, whose authority is the sixteenth-century traveller Giovanni Zuallardo. They were alike, he says, "with the exception that the first" (i.e. Godfrey's) "had twisted columns, and the second plain; the design consisted simply of a roof-shaped stone of porphyry, with vertical gable ends, and ornamented on its edge with carving and moldings. The inscription was placed on the sloping surface. The stone was supported on four dwarf columns, two feet six inches in height, which rested upon a base or plinth of marble about a foot high, of the same horizontal dimensions as the upper stone, that is to say, eight feet by four."[3]

The other kings of Jerusalem who were buried in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, namely, Baldwin III (A.D. 1143–1162), Amaury (A.D. 1162–1174),

[1] *Itin. Russes*, I. p. 68.

[2] There was, however, in the sixth century a tradition identifying Golgotha with the place where Melchizedek offered bread and wine to the Most High God.

[3] See *H.C.* II. p. 232 n. Zuallardo saw the tombs about A.D. 1580.

Baldwin IV (A.D. 1174–1185), and Baldwin V (A.D. 1185–1186), were laid in the south aisle of the Canons' Choir or Chorus Dominorum, as the midmost part of the Crusaders' church was called. Baldwin V, a boy who died after a reign of a few months in A.D. 1186, was commemorated in his epitaph as follows:

SEPTIMVS · IN · TVMVLO · PVER · ISTO · REX · TVMVLATVS · EST · BALDEWINVS · REGVM · DE · SANGVINE · NATVS · QVEM · TVLIT · E · MVNDO · SORS · PRIMAE · CONDITIONIS · VT · PARADYSIACE · LOCA · POSSIDEAT · REGIONIS.[1]

The statement contained in the encylical addressed from Acco,[2] on the 25th of November, A.D. 1244, by the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem to the princes and prelates of Europe, that these royal tombs were broken open and desecrated by the Kharizmians who sacked Jerusalem in August of that year, can hardly be accepted without some reservation. It is clear that the three tombs in the Chapel of Adam were not totally destroyed. They were in existence down to the time of the restoration of the Church of the Sepulchre after the great fire of A.D. 1808, and it was in the process of that restoration that they, together with the other royal tombs,

[1] Quoted by Röhricht, *Gesch. des Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 416, n. 1.

[2] Accho of Judges i. 31, Ptolemais of Acts xxi. 7. It became the chief stronghold of the Crusaders in Syria after the loss of Jerusalem, and was held by them down to A.D. 1291. The encyclical is quoted by Willis in *H.C.* II. pp. 188–189.

were obliterated. Such injuries as these monuments suffered at the hands of the Kharizmians were obviously repaired, and it does not seem that very extensive repairs were needed.[1]

Before the erection of the Crusaders' church, the place of the preparation of the Lord's inanimate body for burial had been marked by a small church dedicated in honour of the Virgin.[2] This fabric was removed in order to open out a large quadrangle to the south of the new church, and the place of the anointing of the Lord's body was thenceforth marked by a marble slab let into the pavement, not of the quadrangle, but of the south transept of the church, a little to the west of Golgotha and the Chapel of Adam.[3] In course of time, this marble was believed to have existed *in situ* at the epoch of the Passion, and to have been made a repository of thauma-

[1] The tombs were seen and described by Zuallardo, about A.D. 1580, Morison in A.D. 1596, Deshayes in A.D. 1621, Chateaubriand in A.D. 1806.

[2] Saewulf (A.D. 1103): "Iuxta locum Calvariae, ecclesia Sanctae Mariae in loco ubi corpus Dominicum, avulsum a cruce, antequam sepeliretur fuit aromatisatum et linteo sive sudario involutum." *H.C.* II. p. 273 n. See pp. 186, 187, 214, 225 and 229, above.

[3] The arch in the east wall of the *parvis*, a relic of the church or chapel mentioned by Saewulf, indicates that the traditional place of the Anointing lay further south at the time of his pilgrimage than it did after the erection of the Crusaders' church. But the translation of holy places, in the Middle Ages, was no more difficult than that of holy bones, and much more tolerated, or even favoured, by authority than the translation of Holy Writ.

turgic power by contact with the Lord's body.[1] Pilgrims then began to chip little pieces off it, the fragments being regarded not merely as souvenirs, but as talismans. It became necessary to protect the "Stone of Unction," as it was called, by laying another slab over it, and the variation found in the evidence of eye-witnesses with respect to the colour of the stone may be accounted for on the supposition that the covering-slab was changed from time to time.[2]

III. The Anastasis and the Sepulchre.

The Anastasis or *Ecclesia Rotunda Dominici*

[1] Such belief could appeal for confirmation to 2 Kings xiii. 21 and Acts xix. 11–12.

[2] Ludolph of Suchem (fourteenth century) speaks of a *black* stone; Quaresimus (seventeenth century) describes it as *greenish* in colour: see Willis in *H.C.* II. pp. 233–234. The existing stone (i.e. the visible one) is of a reddish tinge. Lamps suspended over the stone and constantly kept burning: Grethenios (A.D. 1400), Zosimus (A.D. 1420), Basil the Merchant (A.D. 1466), Basil Posniakov (A.D. 1561), Morison (A.D. 1596), Deshayes (A.D. 1621), Robert Curzon (A.D. 1834)—see *Itinéraires Russes*, I. pp. 169, 214, 252, 312; Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire*, II. p. 44; Morison, *Itinerary*, II. p. 25; Curzon, *Monasteries of the Levant*, p. 159. Each of the churches participating (and contending over) the use of the buildings of the Holy Sepulchre has the right of suspending a lamp over the stone. (N.: There was, at the end of the twelfth century, a rival "Stone of Unction" in the Church of the Pantocrator at Constantinople, whither it had been transferred from Ephesus about A.D. 1150. In the same church at Constantinople there was also to be seen the plank on which our Lord's body had been carried to the tomb? *H.C.* II. pp. 233–234: *Itinéraires Russes*, I. pp. 102, 162, 204.)

Sepulcri, erected at the charges of the Emperor Constantine Monomachus,[1] and dedicated in A.D. 1048, stood without alteration of its original design for 760 years, until it was wrecked in the calamitous fire of A.D. 1808. In the course of all those centuries it did not indeed retain its pristine splendour unimpaired, but it suffered much more from neglect than from actual violence. This neglect was the result, partly of Mohammedan jealousy, but also, and perhaps in even greater part, of jealousy among the Christians, especially between Latin Catholics and Greek Orthodox.[2] For the first 140 years from its dedication—i.e. until the recapture of Jerusalem by the Mohammedans in A.D. 1187—it was no doubt preserved in good condition; the period of its decline in splendour then set in, but even in the last days before the catastrophe of A.D. 1808 its glory had not entirely departed, and it was still one of the most notable sanctuaries in Christendom. The existing fabric, dedicated in A.D. 1810, cannot be called a restoration. It is a miserable substitute.

[1] The Persian traveller Nasr-i-Khusrau (A.D. 1047 or 1048) speaks of Constantine Monomachus visiting the Church of the Sepulchre *incognito*. See Lestrange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 205.

[2] The Mohammedan rulers of Jerusalem had to be well paid for permission to make repairs, and it was not often that, having received money from one communion for this purpose, they would refuse pecuniary offers from another to cancel the permission already granted.

The Anastasis, dedicated in the days of Edward the Confessor and destroyed in those of George III, is described by a number of pilgrims and travellers, from Nasr-i-Khusrau the Persian, who saw it just after its completion, to the Frenchman Chateaubriand, who saw it two years before its collapse in the great fire of A.D. 1808. Very few descriptions, however, contain any record of measurements. The principal authority for these is the *Trattato delle piante e immagine dei sacri edifizi de Terra Santa*, published at Rome in A.D. 1609.[1]

The edifice had an internal diameter, from north to south, of 112 feet, counting in the width of the concentric ambulatory, but not the depth of the recesses at the north and south points of the circle. The diameter from east to west, including the eastern apse, but not the recess at the extreme west point of the ambulatory, appears to have been about the same.[2]

The central space, in which the Sepulchre stood, was 73 feet in diameter. This was separated from the ambulatory by an arcade of eight piers and ten

[1] Willis in *H.C.* II. p. 285 speaks of the *Trattato*, the author of which was a Franciscan named Bernardino Amico, as the only architectural account, properly so-called, of the church of the Holy Sepulchre as it existed before A.D. 1808.

[2] The apses or recesses at the north, west and south points of the ambulatory are about 10 feet deep. Excluding these, the diameter of the Anastasis was the same as that of the dome of S. Paul's.

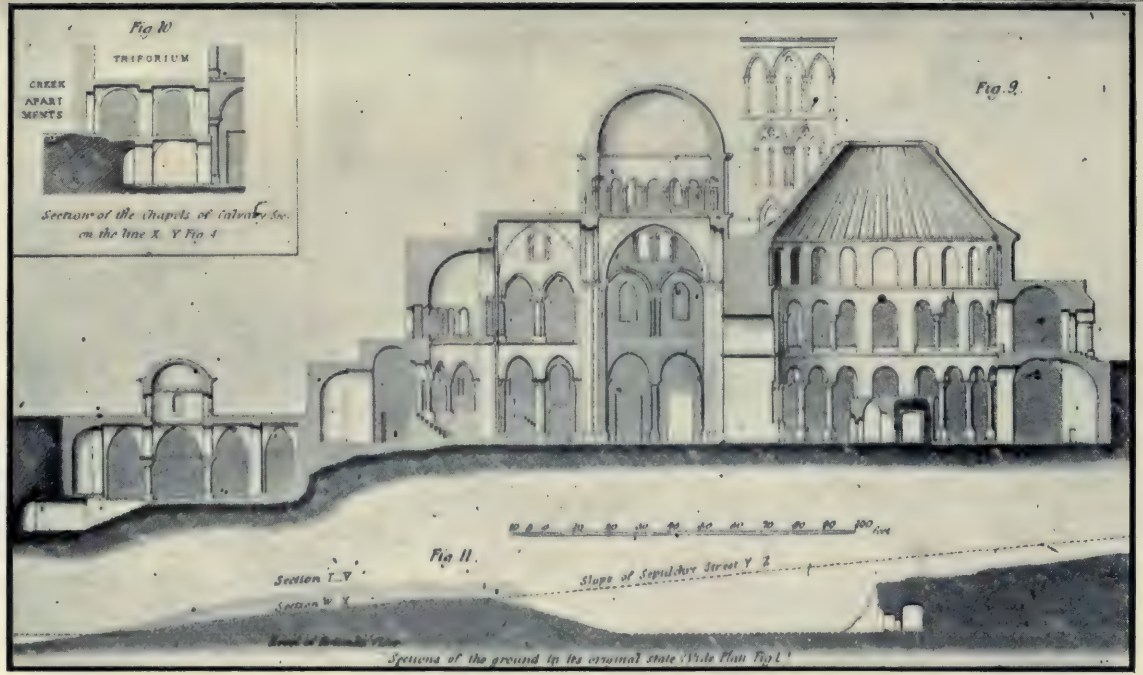
Fig 10
TRIFORIUM
GREEK APARTMENTS
Section of the Chapels of Calvary &c. on the line X Y Fig 4
Fig 9.
Fig 11.
Section T V
Slope of Sepulchre Street Y Z
Section W X
Spections of the ground in its original state (Vide Plan Fig 1.)

PLATE E.

(Plate III in Williams, *Holy City*, vol. II.)

FIG. 9. Longitudinal section of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as it stood before the fire of A.D. 1808. The cupola of the Canons' Choir was probably pointed in outline, not exactly spherical. The elevation of the campanile appears to be erroneous, in that the summit of the structure overtops the cupola of the Anastasis too far, and the windows are quite different from those of the actual structure, which survived the fire. The cupola of the Sepulchre-shrine has been omitted, in order to provide a clearer and more complete representation of the main arcade of the Anastasis.

FIG. 10. Section of the Greek Calvary-Chapel and the Chapel of Adam, from East to West.

FIG. 11. Sections of the ground in its original state. Compare Plate D, Fig. 1.

TV.—East to West line through alleged foot-hole of the Cross or the Calvary rock.

WX. East to West line through the Sepulchre.

YZ. East to West line ascending on pavement of Sepulchre Street (Khot-el-Khankeh), north of the Church.

[*To face page* 240.

60. Bases of columns (remains o
61. Chapel of S. James (Plate
62. Chapel of the Trinity, or o
63. Font.
64. Doorway from parvis into C
65. Chapel of S. John (Plate D,
66. Doorway walled up.
67. Arch forming south-east en
additions to the Church.
68. Place where " his acquaintar
this point to the Tradition
of this spot is the stairw
Anastasis which are occu
out in these apartments.
69. Greek Chapel of Constantine
70. Vestibule of the Calvary Cha
71. Latin Chapel of Calvary (Ch
72 73. Greek Chapel of Calvar
marked 72 lies upon the Ca
part of the Chapel of Ada

Fig. 5. 45. Stairs (destroyed
ab: a gallery leading from the C
A.D. 1808).
cdef: a floor (constructed in the r
of Calvary over the soutl
fgh: a gallery (also constructed
Chapels.

Fig. 6. Willis' conjectural pla
the reign of Constantine to the H

Fig. 7. The Holy Sepulchre, f
destruction in the nineteenth (A.D
Willis in the narrative of the sixte
the difference of shading, to disti

Fig. 8. The Holy Sepulchre s
A. The surface on which the d
eleventh century, with a
B. The floor of the sepulchral c
C. The low passage-way betw
Traces of rock visible in t
D. The Angel-Chapel, with the
sat (Mt. xxviii. 2).
EE. Stone seats.
FF. Candelabra (nineteenth cer
G. Platform.

columns.[1] Two of the piers belonged to the great eastern arch opening originally into the apse in which the altar was set, but subsequently into the Crusaders' church or Choir of the Canons. Above this arcade and the ambulatory ran an upper gallery or triforium, the arches of which, opening upon the rotunda or central space, were carried upon twelve piers and eight columns, counting in the piers of the great eastern arch, which rose into the triforium. The arches in both series, upper and lower, were semicircular, as was also the great arch on the east. Against the piers of this last-mentioned arch were set ornamental columns, four upon the western face of each pier, divided into upper and lower couples.[2] Above the triforium was a clerestory. In this were eighteen shallow round-headed recesses, corresponding in number with the arches below, and in the recesses were mosaic pictures.[3] Above this

[1] This arrangement of combining piers and columns is found in the Kubbet-es-Sakhra ("Dome of the Rock") designed and built by Greek craftsmen for the Khalif Abd-el-Melik towards the end of the seventh century; also in S. Mark's at Venice, which is a Byzantine structure, and dates for the most part from the eleventh century. See Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, Plate VI, and Willis in *H.C.* II. p. 200 n.

[2] A similar arrangement of columns —though on a much more considerable scale—is to be found on the west front of S. Mark's at Venice. Willis l.c.

[3] Willis in *H.C.* II. p. 201; Daniel, in *Itin. Russes*, I. p. 14, "between the upper gallery and the roof are mosaic pictures of the holy prophets that seem to be alive." Sandys' *Travailes*

pictured zone rose the cupola, a conical structure of timber covered with lead, open at the top, the aperture being a circle of about twelve feet in diameter. This aperture was the only means provided for admitting the light of day into the central portion of the Anastasis.[1]

The height from the ground-floor of the Anastasis to the top of the wall on which the cupola rested was about 68 feet. The summit of the cupola was 106 feet above the pavement.[2]

The Anastasis was adorned with a great wealth of pictures. Nasr-i-Khusrau describes it as "everywhere adorned inside with Byzantine brocade, worked in gold with pictures of Jesus—peace be upon him!—Who at times is portrayed riding upon

(A.D. 1621) "now between the top of the upper gallery and extreme of the upright wall, in several concaves, are the pictures of divers of the Saints in Mosaique work." Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire* (A.D. 1806), II. p. 48.

[1] Daniel in *Itin. Russes*, l.c., "the cupola of the church is not a closed vault of stone, but is constructed of wooden beams, and provides the church with an overhead opening." Theodoric (A.D. 1175; quoted by Jeffery, *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 807) says that the wood was cypress; Morison (A.D. 1596) says cedar; Sandys (A.D. 1611) and Deshayes (A.D. 1621) both say cedar, and both compare the cupola, in respect of its opening at the top, with the dome of the Pantheon at Rome. Deshayes says that the cedar beams were brought from Mount Libanus. In the Franco-Ottoman capitulations of A.D. 1740 the cupola of the Anastasis is referred to as "la Coupole de Plomb." Willis (*H.C.* II. p. 202) says that 131 beams of cedar entered into the construction. See Plate E.

[2] *H.C.* II. pp. 198–199 and 202.

an ass, and others of the Prophets, as for instance Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob with his sons—peace be upon them all!" These pictures, Nasr-i-Khusrau informs us, were "overlaid with a varnish of the oil of sandarach; and for the face of each portrait they have made a plate of thin glass, which is set thereon, and is perfectly transparent." These panes of glass were dusted every day by the servants of the Church. Nasr-i-Khusrau also saw a picture divided into two parts, representing Heaven and Hell. "Assuredly," he writes, "there is nowhere else in the world such a picture as this"[1]

This description suggests pictures upon canvas or cloth of some kind, rather than mosaics. Of the latter kind there is, however, express and detailed mention in the narrative of Abbot Daniel, from which we gather that in addition to the mosaic pictures of the Prophets in the zone between the triforium-gallery and the base of the cupola, there was a mosaic of the Saviour over the great eastern arch,[2]

[1] Nasr-i-Khusrau's interest in the pictures in the Anastasis, which he evidently admired, indicates that he was not a strictly orthodox Moslem. He was a Persian, and in Persia the prevailing doctrines and practices are those of the Shia school, which is more tolerant than the Sunni or orthodox school in its attitude towards iconography. The Persian flag is blazoned with the figure of a lion.

[2] *Itin. Russes*, I. p. 13. This picture of the Saviour must be supposed to have occupied one of the niches or panels in the zone immediately above the triforium-gallery, viz. the panel directly over the great arch.

a mosaic of the Annunciation divided between the two piers of that arch,[1] an "Exaltation of Adam"[2] in the back of the apse (i.e. behind the altar), and an Ascension in the semi-dome crowning the apse. The last two must have disappeared when the apse was taken down in order to open a thoroughfare between the Anastasis and the Crusaders' church.[3] El-Idrisi (A.D. 1150), who gathered his information from Sicilian pilgrims,[4] states that "inside the dome, and all round it, are painted pictures of the Prophets, and of the Lord Messiah, and of the Lady Mary[5] his mother, and of John the Baptist."

[1] The figure of the Virgin must have been set on one of the piers, that of the Angel on the other.

[2] The "Exaltation of Adam" may be explained as follows from a passage in Saewulf's narrative: "Below [the Place of the Crucifixion] is the place called Golgotha, where, it is said, Adam was raised from the dead by the stream of the Lord's blood flowing down upon him; as one reads in the [story of the] Passion, 'and many bodies of the saints which slept arose.'" (*H.C.* II. p. 273 n.; Matt. xxvii. 52). Or perhaps it represented the "Harrowing of Hell": compare Basil the Merchant's report concerning the "Church of the Panachrantos" quoted in § 1.

[3] Quaresimus (seventeenth century) mentions an Annunciation which seems to have been divided between the spandrils of the western arch in the lantern of the Crusaders' church, and an Ascension in the soffit of the eastern arch of the Anastasis (*H.C.* II. p. 218). But it is doubtful whether these could have been the mosaics seen by Daniel in A.D. 1106 and 1107 and subsequently taken to pieces and set up again in new positions.

[4] El-Idrisi lived in Sicily under the protection of the Norman Kings Roger and William I.

[5] Sitti Mariam.

From the catalogue of the mosaic figures in the upper part of the Anastasis drawn up by the Franciscan Quaresimus about A.D. 1625, it appears that out of eighteen figures three were then no longer in existence or at any rate no longer identifiable, that Apostles as well as Prophets were included in the portrait-gallery, and that some changes were made in the pictures after the Crusaders took possession. The figures were worked in upon gilt backgrounds. Each one had the name of its original inserted over its head, and carried in its left hand a tablet inscribed with a text. The figures still identifiable in Quaresimus' day were the Prophets Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, and Obadiah; the apocryphal but exemplary Tobias[1] catching the fish; the Apostles Thomas, James, Philip, Matthew, Bartholomew, and Simon; the Emperor Constantine and the Empress Helena. Constantine and Helena were both represented in regal attire, each bearing in the right hand a cross and in the left hand a globe marked with a cross. Above the figure of Helena was that of an angel. The names of the Emperor and his mother were inscribed in Latin as well as in Greek. The inscriptions in the other panels were in Latin only. Seeing that these mosaics were the work of Byzantine, i.e. Greek, craftsmen working in the service of a Byzan-

[1] Article VI of the Church of England.

tine Emperor and Greek ecclesiastics,[1] the original inscriptions must have been in Greek. The Latin lettering of names and wording of texts must have been substituted (or, as was the case in the portraits of Constantine and Helena, added) at some time after the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders and the institution of a Latin succession to the Patriarchate. From a comparison of El-Idrisi's statement with Quaresimus' list, it appears that the three figures which in the latter's generation were no longer identifiable were those of our Lord, and his mother, and John the Baptist—the very figures which one would have thought that Greeks and Latins alike would have taken special pains to preserve.[2]

In the middle of the Anastasis stood the shrine enclosing the Sepulchre. Abbot Daniel describes the Sepulchre as "a little grotto hewn in the rock, with an entrance so low that a man can hardly enter on his knees and with bowed head." The

[1] Sandys (*Travailes*, A.D. 1611, quoted by Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 725) says that "the pictures of divers of the Saints in Mosaique work" were "full faced and unheightened with shadows, according to the Grecian painting." The portraits of Constantine and Helena faced each other from south and north respectively. Constantine and his mother have never been so honoured in the Latin West as in the Greek East, where they are *ισαπόστολοι*, on an equality with the Apostles. The Latin West, again, has not had the same regard for the memory of Old Testament saints as the Greek East, and it is to be observed that six names in Quaresimus' list are names of Old Testament Prophets.

[2] Perhaps ecclesiastical jealousies prevented the needful repairs from being made.

grotto, as he found it, was low-roofed. It was equal in length and breadth, i.e. not more than "four cubits" either way. On the right hand of one entering was a shelf or bed cut in the rock. This shelf or bed, measuring four cubits in length by two in breadth, and lying at a height of a cubit and a half above the floor,[1] was the very place in which the Lord's sacred body had lain. It was covered with marble slabs, but the natural rock could be seen through three holes in the vertical slab set in front. The horizontal covering slab could be raised, and in this way Daniel obtained a view of the rock-surface upon which (as he was told and devoutly believed) the body of Jesus had been laid by Joseph and Nicodemus. Moreover, the custodian of the grotto obligingly chipped away a fragment from the rock and gave it to Daniel, charging him to speak of the matter to no man in Jerusalem. The grotto was illuminated by five large lamps continually kept burning.

With regard to the exterior of the Sepulchre, Daniel relates that it was covered with fine marble "like an ambon,"[2] and had twelve columns, also

[1] The cubit being = 1½ ft., these measurements correspond closely with those of the existing chamber. See Pt. I, ch. V, app. to § B (pp. 116–117, above).

[2] I.e. like a pulpit. The word *ambon* is derived from ἀναβαίνειν = to ascend. See Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church*, pp. 174–175.

of fine marble, set round about it. On the top there was a beautiful "turret" culminating in a cupola covered with silver-gilt "scales." On the summit of the cupola there was a large silver image of Christ, which had been placed there by the "Franks," i.e. the Crusaders.[1]

Before the entrance of the Sepulchre lay a stone, pointed out as the stone on which sat the Angel who announced the Resurrection to the women who came to the Sepulchre.[2]

Daniel makes no mention of an ante-chamber, such as exists nowadays and is called the "Chapel of the Angel" on account of its containing the stone upon which, so the custodians of the Sepulchre declare, as their predecessors did eight hundred years ago, the Angel of the Resurrection sat, after he had rolled it away from the door of the Sepulchre. The earliest extant mention of

[1] The turret had grated openings in it, below the cupola. These no doubt were provided as vents for the smoke from the lamps in the tomb-chamber. Daniel, as an Orthodox Russian, would not be pleased with a figure "in the round." He is careful, therefore, to note that the statue of Christ had been set up by "the Franks."

[2] Ignatius of Smolensk (*circa* A.D. 1396) relates that in an Armenian church on Mount Sion he saw the stone which had closed the Sepulchre, used as an altar. The English traveller Richardson, visiting the Holy Sepulchre in A.D. 1822, was told that the custodians of the Sepulchre believed that the Armenians had indeed got possession of the original stone; nevertheless, they exhibited a substitute, as they found it serve the purpose of stirring the devotion of pilgrims equally well (*H.C.* II. p. 165 n.).

an ante-chapel occurs in a document dating from about A.D. 1180, certainly not earlier than A.D. 1143, for the writer mentions his "noble master," the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, who reigned from A.D. 1143 to 1181.[1] But it is not stated that Manuel Comnenus erected the ante-chapel, and it is quite possible that there was one already in existence before the time of Daniel's pilgrimage, and indeed before the Crusaders' capture of Jerusalem. If, as seems very probable, the Sepulchre had an ante-chapel in the ninth century,[2] this detail would certainly be repeated in the restoration by the Emperors Michael Paphlagon and Constantine Monomachus in the eleventh. Again, though Daniel makes no express mention of an ante-chapel, there is a passage in his narrative which really implies the existence of one. When he visited the Holy Sepulchre on Easter Monday, A.D. 1107, the custodian of the sacred monument unlocked the door for him.[3] There is nothing to indicate that the low-browed doorway of the tomb-chamber was

[1] Quoted by Willis, in *H.C.* II. pp. 181–182: "The cave which was employed for the Sepulchre is divided into two parts, in one of which is deposited the stone which was rolled away from the door; in the other, on the north side a polished stone as long as the apartment is raised a cubit: upon this the Giver of Life was laid." The writer seems to have taken the built-up shrine for the *original* rock-tomb.

[2] Part II. ch. ii, pp. 169–170, above.

[3] *It. Russes*, I. p. 82.

ever fitted with a door that could be locked. The door which the custodian unlocked for Daniel's benefit must have been the door of an ante-chapel, the same ante-chapel which is mentioned in the late twelfth-century document mentioned above.

The gold 'and silver ornaments of the Sepulchre-chapel were carried off, either by Christians or Moslems, or by both, when Jerusalem passed once more under Moslem domination, in A.D. 1187,[1] but the structure itself appears to have remained uninjured until A.D. 1244. On August 23 of that year, the savage Kharizmians, who had fallen back from Transcaspia into Armenia, and from Armenia into Syria, before the advance of the no less savage, and much more numerous, Mongols and Tartars, attacked and captured the Holy City. A great multitude of Christians had sought refuge in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, only to become victims of a general butchery. The marble-work adorning the Sepulchre and Golgotha was, if we are to believe the report sent to the princes and prelates of Europe by the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, grievously defaced and disintegrated, and the Tombs of the Crusading Kings were broken open and their bones scattered abroad.[2] There is some reason, however,

[1] Röhricht, *Gesch. des Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 461.

[2] Röhricht, op. cit. pp. 860–863; Williams, *H.C.* I. pp. 425–427, II. pp. 188–189.

to suspect that the Patriarch was exaggerating matters, in his eagerness to stir up the princes and prelates of the West to engage in yet one more Crusade. He may certainly be said to have exaggerated the injuries done to the royal tombs, and if he went beyond the facts on that point, he might very easily do the same with regard to the damage done to the Sepulchre and the Golgotha-chapel. No doubt the Kharizmians did deface the Sepulchre. But the injuries they inflicted were not beyond repair. From the description of the Sepulchre as it appeared in A.D. 1336, given by William of Boldensele, it is to be inferred that the repairs were poorly executed.[1] But the native Christians of Jerusalem, upon whom fell the burden of the repairs, were not a wealthy community. It is probable that the damage done by the Kharizmians was for the most part external. In any case, it was far less complete than the destruction committed in A.D. 1010 at the order of El-Hakem.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the fabric had become badly dilapidated. A report of its deplorable condition was sent by Bonifacius, Superior of the Franciscans of Jerusalem,[2] to the

[1] *H.C.* II. p. 168 n., "minus artificialiter et minus quam deceat ordinate."

[2] *H.C.* II. pp. 86–87. Bonifacius was Superior of the Franciscan Convent of S. Saviour in Jerusalem A.D. 1550–1559 and 1563–1565.

Emperor Charles V and Pope Julius III. The Emperor and his son Philip (afterwards King of Spain, husband of Queen Mary of England and suitor of Queen Elizabeth) took up the matter with zeal, and furnished the funds necessary for the purpose of obtaining the consent of the Porte to the restoration of the monument, and meeting all other expenses. Restored in A.D. 1556, the Sepulchre-chapel stood as a monument of Hapsburg piety until A.D. 1808, when it was wrecked in the great fire. Once more, however, the injuries inflicted were almost entirely external.[1]

As restored in A.D. 1556, the Sepulchre-chapel preserved the design and presented very much the same appearance as it had done in the course of the three centuries preceding.[2] No doubt a good deal of old material was utilized in the process of restoration.

The design of the epoch A.D. 1244–1556 is to be identified with that of the epoch A.D. 1048–1244, of which one of the best (if not the very best of all) descriptions is to be found in the narrative of Abbot Daniel. The main features persist throughout: an ante-chapel containing the alleged stone door of the Sepulchre; the tomb-chamber lined with

[1] *H.C.* II. l.c. and pp. 88–89, 189–192, 283–284. Bonifacius found that the Sepulchre-chapel enclosed a mass of rock which had been a tomb-chamber.

[2] *H.C.* II. p. 191.

marble, to protect the holy rock from the chisels and hammers of the superstitious; the exterior casing constructed in the form of an arcade, the arches being filled with marble slabs; and the whole crowned with a cupola resting on pillars.[1]

IV. The Crusaders' Church (Chorus Dominorum; Katholikon).

"The Crusaders," observes Mr. G. Jeffery in his study of the Church of the Sepulchre, "evidently carried in their train many master-masons and architects who belonged to that expiring school of Romanesque art of the twelfth century, the monuments of which are scattered over the south of France, Provence, Savoy, the greater part of Italy, and in fact all round the littorals of the Mediterranean and Adriatic. The artists and artizans of the period who followed the Christian armies were naturally drawn from the nearest European shores, while their masters were Normans, Flemings, or even in some cases Englishmen. As a consequence, the Provençal style of art is particularly pronounced; the great domical churches of France seem peculiarly akin to many of the principal crusading monuments of the Holy Land, whilst the sculptors of Arles or Pisa are represented in their decorative carvings."[2]

[1] *H.C.* II. pp. 162–164; *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 809; *Itin. Russes*, I. p. 3. The design of the existing fabric is the same in its chief constituents, but utterly inferior in taste.

[2] *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 805.

For the decorative details[1] of the church built for the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, Mr. Jeffery thinks that the employment of Italian artists was inevitable, though the general design, both of the church and the priory, was drawn by a French craftsman, Magister Jordanus.[2]

The principal internal dimensions recoverable from the church in its present state are as follows:

Extreme length	117 feet
Breadth of the main body of the building, without the aisles	39 ,,
Extreme breadth, including the Golgotha-chapel and "Prison"	130 ,,
Height to vaulting of roof	70 ,,
Height of apse of sacrarium	60 ,,
Height to inner surface of cupola	115 ,,
Distance between centres of piers under cupola:	
(*a*) West to east	40 ,,
(*b*) North to south	43 ,,
Distance between opposite faces of these piers	31⅚ ,,
Height of piers under cupola	52 ,,[3]
Height of triforium above floor	33 ,,

[1] I.e. mosaics and frescoes, besides some of the stone-carving.

[2] De Vogüé, who made a study of the Church of the Sepulchre some sixty years ago, reported an inscription worded thus—IORDANVS · ME · FECIT—as visible on the south façade: Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 814.

[3] Willis in *H.C.* II. p. 215 (see also Plates II and III). Willis compares the dimensions of the tower-arches in the cathedrals of Winchester and Peterborough: the piers of those arches are 53 feet in height, and their faces are 32 feet apart. The Crusaders' church had a cupola of its own, considerably smaller in diameter than that of the Anastasis, but exceeding it in altitude above the ground-level by nearly 10 feet. The arches supporting this cupola were immediately east of the great arch of the Anastasis. See Plates E and F.

The arches, wherever they still exist in their original form, are pointed, and the vaulting is of the "ogival" ribbed form which, according to Mr. Jeffery, had been introduced, not very long before, into French architecture from the English Norman style. The piers of the arches under the cupola were, as Willis points out, strictly Romanesque with their square edges and round shafts alternating. If the Anastasis built in the eleventh century was a notable specimen of Byzantine church-building, the *Chorus Dominorum* joined to it by the Crusaders was no unworthy adjunct or associate, being as it was a fine example of the late Romanesque style.[1]

The subterranean chapels of S. Helena and the Cross stood to the *Chorus Dominorum* in a relation analogous to that of the crypt—for example, of S. Paul's to the main body of the cathedral. They were not covered by the *Chorus Dominorum*, but they could be entered only from within its walls. Mr. Jeffery thinks that the crypt of S. Helena, in its existing state, is a "squalid restoration" dating from not farther back than the thirteenth century. He points out that the capitals of the four columns forming the central support of the vaulting are too large for the shafts on which they are set and that they have been so mutilated that their design is

[1] In both instances, but especially in that of the Crusaders' Church, the difficulties to be surmounted were very considerable —bad roads, constant warfare, Bedawin marauding.

no longer recognizable. But the general plan of the chapel itself is probably the same as it was at the time of Daniel's visit.

The Crusaders' church is described as follows in the Pilgrims' Guide-Book, compiled under the title of *La Citez de Jherusalem* about A.D. 1200. "Eastward," viz. of the Anastasis, "was the Choir of the Sepulchre, where the Canons chanted[1]; it was a long building. Between the Choir where the Canons chanted, and the Monument,[2] there was an altar at which the Greeks chanted.[3] There was a screen, and a door through which one passed [from the Anastasis into the Choir]. In the midst of the Canon's Choir there was a marble lectern called the *Compas*[4];

[1] The Choir still stood, of course, but the Canons no longer chanted there in A.D. 1200.

[2] I.e. the Sepulchre-chapel.

[3] This altar must have stood under the great east arch of Anastasis. The thickness of the wall of the Anastasis made quite a deep recess.

[4] *Compas*: Saewulf (A.D. 1103) observes that "ad caput Ecclesiae Sti. Sepulchri, in muro forinsecus non longe a loco Calvariae est locus qui *Compas* vocatur, ubi D.N. Iesus Christus medium mundi propria manu esse signavit": Daniel (A.D. 1106–7) "Behind the place of the altar" (sc: in the Anastasis) "and outside the wall, is the Navel of the Earth, covered by a small edifice." N.: the "caput ecclesiae" is the part where the altar stands; Saewulf uses "in muro" in the sense of "in an enclosure." The *compas* was, of course, outside, in the *atrium*, when Saewulf and Daniel saw it. (*H.C.* II. pp. 218, 273 n.; *Itin. Russes*, I. p. 14). *Compas* (Eng. compass) = a circle (Ps. xxiv. 1, cf. Isa. xl. 22); here = centre of a circle. The tradition making Jerusalem the centre of the earth was established by the fourth century: see Cyril of Jer. Catech. xiii. 26; p. 172 and p. 77, n. 1, above.

there the Epistle was read," sc. at Mass. "On the right hand of the high altar of this Choir was the Mount of Calvary. When the Mass of the Resurrection was sung, the deacon who chanted the Gospel turned himself at the words 'resurrexit, non est hic' towards the Monument, and pointed [to it] with his finger when he sang 'ecce locus ubi posuerunt eum'; then he turned again to his book and finished his chanting of the Gospel. At the head of the Choir there was a door, through which the Canons passed to their offices, turning to the right.[1] Between this door and Mount Calvary there was a very deep pit, with steps leading down into it.[2] There was the place called Sainte Elaine, the place where Sainte Elaine found the cross, the nails, the hammer, and the crown [of thorns]. In this pit, when Christ was on earth, the bodies of thieves who had been hung on crosses were thrown, when they were taken down. And when the hands or heads [of malefactors] were cut off, or any punishment was

[1] Au cheves dou cuer avoit une porte, par là ou li chanoine entroient en leur offecines, à main destre." The words "à main destre" must refer to the direction taken by the Canons when they had passed through the door into the cloister, for this door (now walled up) stood to the *left* of one standing "au cheves dou cuer" (ad caput chori) and looking east. See Mr. Jeffery's plan in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 805, or *Quarterly Review*, No. 379, p. 117.

[2] The "pit" is the double crypt consisting of the Chapel of S. Helena (Helaine or Elaine) and the Chapel of the Cross. The door leading to the steps stands between the east extremity of the Choir and the Golgotha-chapel.

inflicted, it was done on Mount Calvary. There were the sentences of the law executed, and there were buried the members which malefactors were condemned to lose.[1] Now when the Canons went forth from the [Church of the] Sepulchre, their dormitory was on the left hand, and their refectory on their right, adjoining the Mount of Calvary.[2] Between these buildings lay the cloister-garth. In the midst of this there was a large opening, through which could be seen the chamber of Elaine below; otherwise it could not have been seen at all [from above]."[3]

[1] Golgotha, an execution-yard. So Jerome, *Comm. in Ev. Matth.* (vol. vii. pt. 1, pp. 232–3; Vallarsi), and Ali of Herat (A.D. 1173: Lestrange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 207–208).

[2] In the fire of A.D. 1808 the Golgotha-chapel was wrecked by the burning of a tall wooden structure adjoining it on its eastern side. There was a kitchen in the basement of this structure, which formed part of the Greek Convent of Abraham. The refectory and dormitory of the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre fell into ruins, of course, long before the nineteenth century. (See Willis in *H.C.* II. pp. 228–229, 224.)

[3] See Williams, *H.C.* I. Suppl. pp. 135–136. According to the description in *La Citez de Iherusalem*, the crypt-chapel of S. Helena was lighted through a large hole in the roof. At the present day, it receives light through windows in the drum of a small cupola, which is evidently an ancient fabric. That the description given in *La Citez de Iherusalem* does not preclude the supposition that a similar (if not the same) cupola existed in the twelfth century may be inferred from the fact that the author, following Saewulf, describes the Anastasis as "ouvres par desure, sanz converture," though Daniel (A.D. 1107), El-Idrisi (*circa* A.D. 1150), and Theodoric (A.D. 1175) all mention the cupola of that building. Similarly Basil Posniakov (A.D. 1561) describes the Anastasis as all open above; Morison (A.D. 1596) mentions and describes its cupola.

S. SEPULCHRE'S CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE.

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Part IV

FROM THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY TO MODERN TIMES

CHAPTER I

THE IBERIANS

THE *Kharthli*, as the Iberians or Georgians call themselves in their own language, possess as their home-land the region between the Caucasus and the Armenian mountain-ranges; in other words, the basin of the river Cyrus or Kour, which flows into the Caspian Sea. Their name of *Iberians* (*Ἴβηρες*, Iberes, Iberi—also aspirated, Hiberes, Hiberi), by which they are mentioned in ancient Greek and Roman history and geography, appears to be derived from the Armenian *Wêr* or *Vêr*. The name *Georgians*, given to them in Byzantine literature, refers to the popularity of the cult of the warrior-saint George among them.[1] In 65 B.C. the Roman general Gnaeus Pompeius, pursuing his enterprise of extending the Roman Peace

[1] See the index to Kiepert's *Atlas Antiquus*, art. "Iberia." The Armenian letter represented by W in German and V in English might quite well have been represented by a B in ancient, as it would be in mediæval and modern, Greek. Morison (*Itinerary*, II. p. 30) mentions the popularity of S. George among the Iberians.

through Asia Minor,[1] entered their territory and in the course of a single campaigning-season brought them and their neighbours the Albanians, who inhabited the region of the lower Cyrus, to acceptance of the status of "allies and friends of the Roman People." They were not put under direct exercise of Roman *imperium*; they were free allies, and retained their native rulers, customs, and laws. In the centuries following we find that the friendship of the nation was always valued highly by the Roman Government. It enabled that Government to maintain some control over affairs in Armenia, and to secure the northern or left wing of its whole position upon the continent of Asia. More than ever did it become valuable when the inactivity of the Parthian House of Arsaces was thrust aside by a successful insurrection to make room for the fierce aggressiveness of the Persian House of Sassan (A.D.226).

Christianity appears to have made its first converts in Iberia about the same time as in Armenia—viz. the latter part of the third century C.E. Mirian, who died in A.D. 342 at the age of 77, is said to have been the first Christian king of the country, and to him one of the traditions of Christian Iberia

[1] Pompeius had been commissioned in 66 B.C. under the *Lex Manilia de imperio Cn. Pompeii* to finish off the war with Mithridates Eupator, king of Pontus, who had been the arch-disturber of the peace of Asia Minor since 88 B.C. See Mommsen's *History of Rome*, Bk. V. ch. iv.

ascribes the foundation of the Convent of the Cross, which is situated about a mile and a half west of Jerusalem and is said to cover the place where the tree grew which was cut down to make the cross on which the Saviour died. The tradition which represents Mirian as the original founder of that monastery also, it seems, relates that Mirian obtained the site by a grant from the Emperor Constantine. It is by no means certain, indeed, that the Convent of the Cross was founded at so early a date; the length of its history may be overestimated by more than a hundred years if it be granted that it originated with the pilgrimage of King Mirian to Jerusalem and a grant made by Constantine, who died in A.D. 336. An Iberian monastery, however, certainly existed on the site in the sixth century; it was pillaged and destroyed by the Samaritans, when they rebelled against the Imperial authority in the reign of Justinian, and its restoration is mentioned in Procopius' record of that Emperor's building operations.[1]

The Iberians were a warlike people; for that very reason, perhaps, it came to pass that their conversion to Christianity was wrought by a woman.[2] Nonna,

[1] Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 549–552; Dowling, *Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem*, p. 90.

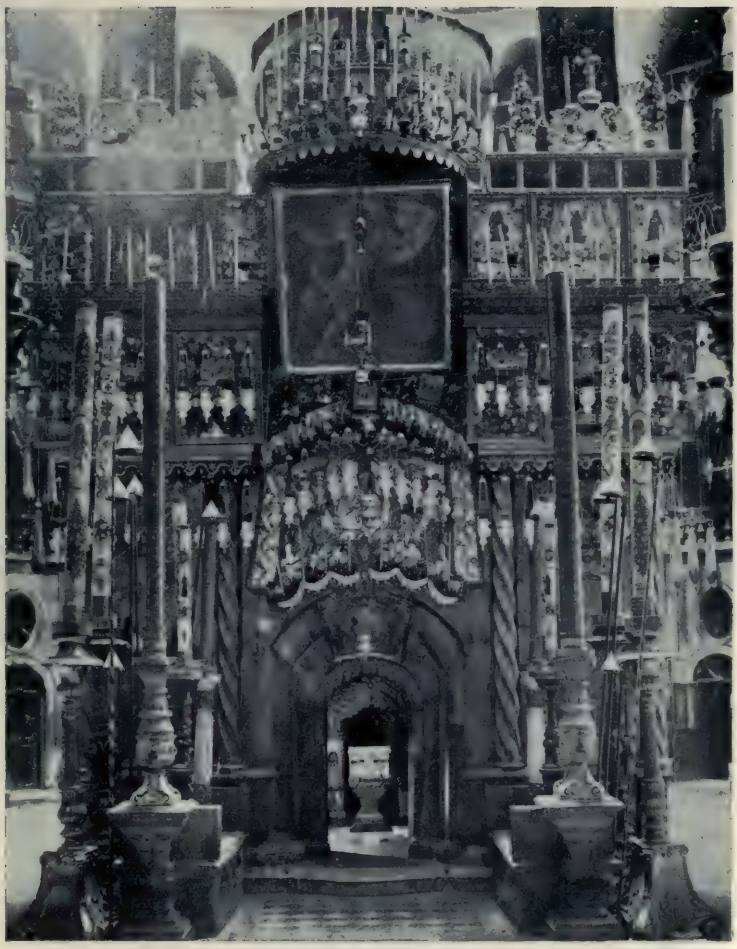
[2] Aristotle (*Politics*, II. 9, 1269, b. 24–26) represents the Spartans as *γυναικοκρατούμενοι, καθάπερ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ πολεμικῶν γενῶν.*

their apostle, is said to have journeyed to their country from Jerusalem, having been sent forth by the then successor of S. James the Brother of the Lord. They accepted the faith of Chalcedon and continued—as their neighbours of Armenia did not—in unbroken communion with the Churches of Greek Orthodoxy, accepting the Greek ritual as well as the Greek doctrine, though they made use of their own language in worship.[1] For centuries they strove unceasingly, and with success, to maintain their independence and their faith against the assaults of Pagan and Moslem foes—Persians, Tartars, and Turks—though ultimately they were compelled to seek security in subjection to the Muscovite Tsars.[2] So considerable was the impression made by their valour upon the minds of the Mohammedans that even as late as the sixteenth century they had the right of entering Jerusalem armed and in military array, and enjoyed exemptions not accorded to other Christians.[3]

[1] They did not, however, escape accusations of heresy: see Gibbon, ch. lvii. Morison (*Itinerary*, II. 30–31) thought that the Iberians used Greek in their liturgy, but Basil Posniakov (*Itin. Russes*, I. p. 312) expressly asserts that they used their own language.

[2] Williams, *H.C.* II. pp. 550–552.

[3] Morison, *Itinerary*, l.c. (A.D. 1596). Morison, however, only repeats without acknowledgment the report of Baumgarten, a German traveller who visited the Holy Land some ninety years earlier. Baumgarten's statement is cited (*with* acknowledgment) by Williams in *H.C.* II. p. 552 n.



Photo, Bonfils.

SEPULCHRE SHRINE.

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Early in the fourteenth century, the Golgotha-chapel passed under the custody of Iberian monks, of whom there were at that time a number of communities in or near Jerusalem. To the custody of Golgotha was added, about the middle of the century, that of the Keys of the Sepulchre.[1] The Russian pilgrim Grethenios, visiting the Holy City about A.D. 1400, reports the Iberians as holding the custodianship of four holy places—viz. Golgotha, the "Prison of Christ," the crypt of S. Helena, and the Crypt of the Finding of the Cross.[2]

[1] Dowling, *O.P.J.*, p. 74.

[2] Iberian custody of Golgotha, however, did not prevent the Latins from placing at least one altar in the ante-chapel, to the south. This Latin altar is mentioned by Ignatius of Smolensk (A.D. 1395 or 1400); see *Itin. Russes*, pp. 150, 170. The statement of Ignatius is as follows: "To the right of the Greek Church" (i.e. the Crusaders' Church) "is Golgotha, on a height . . . the Georgians of the Georgian rite officiate there, and farther on the Venetians of the Venetian rite, and next to them the Hungarians, and farther on the Franks of the Frank rite and below Golgotha" (i.e. in the Chapel of Adam) "officiate the Iberians of the Iberian rite." Now the Georgians and Iberians are one and the same. The Franciscans, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were sometimes called "Franks," sometimes "Venetians"; the former name being an abbreviation of "Franciscans" or simply denoting their European *provenance*; the latter having reference to support and protection afforded by the Venetian Republic. In the sixteenth century, however (after A.D. 1535), "Franks" might also refer (as Morison says it does) to the French King's patronage. (See Ignatius in *Itin. Russes*, I. p. 150—the Chapel of the Apparition called "the place where Franks officiate"; Basil Posniakov, op. cit. p. 323—the Franciscan Convent on Sion called "the Convent of the Doge of Venice"; and below, ch. ii.).

But in the course of the sixteenth century their prestige declined. It was not they, but the Franciscans, subsidized by the Emperor Charles V and his son Philip of Spain, who undertook the repair of the Sepulchre-shrine or chapel in A.D. 1555–1556.[1] The custody of the keys of the Sepulchre was taken from them, in consequence of a Franciscan intrigue, and transferred to a Moslem family, who became hereditary *clavigeri*.[2] The Franciscans bought the custody of the Stone of Unction from them for 5,000 piastres.[3] A Latin (i.e. Franciscan) lamp was to be seen in the Crypt of the Finding of the Cross by the year 1561, along with the six lamps placed there by the Orthodox.[4] In that year the Iberian convent in the north-west quarter of the city was assigned to the Franciscans, who probably entered into possession by means of a forced sale.[5]

Morison, in A.D. 1596, found only Golgotha and the "Prison" under Iberian custody; moreover, the Copts had acquired either the full custody of the Chapel of Adam or a share therein. Deshayes, the envoy of Louis VIII of France, coming to Jerusalem in A.D. 1620 or 1621, found the Armenians "guarding" the crypt of S. Helena and reported

[1] *H.C.* II. pp. 87 and 189 f.
[2] Dowling, *O.P.J.*, p. 75.
[3] Baedeker-Socin, *Palestine*, p. 240.
[4] Posniakov in *It. Russ.*, I. p. 311.
[5] Watson, *Jerusalem*, p. 266; see below, ch. ii.

Franciscans *only* as custodians of the crypt of the Finding of the Cross.[1] By the end of the seventeenth century, the Iberians, impoverished by the prolonged struggles of their nation against Shahs of Persia and Sultans of Turkey, had been compelled to sell their rights over Golgotha, the Chapel of Adam, and the " Prison " to the Greek Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre.[2]

Without the city walls, a mile and a half westward from the Jaffa Gate, they still possessed the Deir-es-Salib or Convent of the Cross. This remained in Iberian possession until about A.D. 1850, when it was sold to the Greek Brotherhood, and became a seminary for Greek priests.[3]

[1] Morison, *Itinerary*, II. pp. 30–31 ; Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire*, II. p. 43f (ed. 1881).

[2] The Chapel of Adam and the " Prison " are mentioned as Latin sanctuaries in the catalogue given to Sir Stratford Canning in 1851 and forwarded by him to Downing Street for the purpose of making the British Government fully acquainted with the details of claims over holy places in Palestine asserted by the Franciscans, and backed by France, on the ground of the Franco-Ottoman Capitulations of 1740. But these claims were stoutly disputed by the Greeks, who cited a whole series of Khalifian rescripts in support of their contentions. See the narrative in the next chapter.

[3] The Convent of the Cross is mentioned by Saewulf and Daniel. The former speaks of it as having been " laid waste by the Paynim." The latter describes it as follows : " At the distance of a bow-shot from the Tower of David is the place where David slew Goliath. . . . From that place it is one verst to the place of the Holy Cross, situate west of Jerusalem, behind a hill. There was cut the foot-piece of the Cross, to

Shortly before the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War of 1853, the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem found itself confronted with a demand put forward by the Holy Synod of Russia for the surrender of two convents, formerly occupied by Iberian monks. These convents were to be converted into hospices for Russian pilgrims. The demand was put forward on the ground (1) that since Iberia had become part of the Russian Empire, the Tsar had succeeded to the heritage of the Iberian kings, and the Holy Synod of Russia to that of the Iberian Church; and (2) that Russian almsgiving had played an important and indispensable part in enabling the Jerusalem Patriarchate to add house to house and field to field.

The almsgiving referred to consisted largely in the docile submission of devout *moujiks* to the

which our Lord Jesus Christ's divine feet were nailed. The place is enclosed within walls, and in the midst rises a large church dedicated to the Holy Cross, and richly adorned with paintings. In the floor of the *sacrarium* is the trunk of the holy tree, covered with slabs of white marble in which there is left only a small round hole, through which one may see the trunk. There is an Iberian convent there." Possibly the Iberian monks had begun to return in the interval (three years) between Saewulf's and Daniel's visit. See Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 43; *Itinéraires Russes*, I. p. 50. The conventual church dates originally from the seventh century; Dowling, op. cit., p. 90. The convent was still Iberian in 1843, Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 553; twelve years later it had become a Greek monastery, Dowling, *l.c.*

exactions and extortions practised upon them, in the name of religion, by the Greek monks of the Holy Sepulchre, who kept the hospices where Russian pilgrims lodged. For many years the frauds systematically perpetrated upon Russian pilgrims by their Greek hosts in Jerusalem had been a crying scandal. The Russian Government, however, paid no heed to the cry. In dealing with the Porte, it was desirous always to appear as the protector of the Sultan's Orthodox subjects, and to avoid anything that might compromise, in the view especially of the higher Greek clergy, its assumption of this character. It had purposely refrained from establishing a consulate in Jerusalem, because no Russian consul stationed there could have kept silence in sight of the iniquities and scandals proceeding from the avarice of the Greek monks, without bringing discredit both upon himself and his Government. The Holy Synod, however, refused to acquiesce in the continual plundering and maltreatment of Russian pilgrims, and a Russian archimandrite was sent to Jerusalem, with a commission to take measures to the end that the sheep of Christ's Russian flock should thenceforth be fed and cared for, instead of being merely fleeced. His representations and remonstrances having failed in producing any improvement in the treatment of the pilgrims, the Russian Synod proceeded

to the demand for the surrender of two convents, formerly held by the Iberians, in order that Russian pilgrims, on their arrival in Jerusalem, might find Russian hospices whereunto they might resort.

The claiming of the heritage of the Iberians for the Tsar and the Holy Synod alarmed the Patriarch and his brethren. There had been a time—and it had been no short time—when the Iberians had been possessors of the Golgotha-chapel and the Chapel of Adam below it. The Russian demand was resisted, and as the Russian Government did not vigorously support the Synod in pressing it on the Patriarchate, it was ultimately withdrawn, but only on the condition that the Patriarch gave his consent to the erection, upon a site owned by the Patriarchate, of a building which was to serve as a residence for the legate of the Synod.

The building was not finished when the quarrel between Russia and the Porte over alleged infringements of Orthodox rights in respect of the holy places in Jerusalem and Bethlehem blazed out in open war between the two Powers. The legate of the Synod was compelled to leave Jerusalem and return to Russia, and the whole question of making better provision for Russian pilgrims in the Holy City was shelved for the time being.[1] The Patriarchate managed to escape the necessity of surrender-

[1] Busch, *Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem*, pp. 277–281.

ing the two Iberian convents demanded by the Russian Synod. But it had to acquiesce in the building of a huge Russian hospice, with a church of cathedral-like aspect and proportions, on a site at a little distance from the north-west corner of the city, by the side of the Jaffa road. The erection of these buildings was begun in A.D. 1860 and completed four years later. It was followed, of course, by a diminution of the revenue hitherto drawn by the Patriarchate from *moujik* piety, submissiveness, and credulity.

It is extremely doubtful whether the accommodation provided for pilgrims to Jerusalem will ever, in time to come, be severely taxed by the multitude of applicants coming from any of the lands collectively known as "Russia."

CHAPTER II

THE FRANCISCANS

A.D. 1350–1850

THE north-eastern transept of the Anastasis and the chapel approached through that transept, and certain chambers adjoining thereto; the space under the great arch between the Anastasis and the Katholikon or Crusaders' Church; the southern half of the Golgotha-chapel, and the northern half of the Crypt of the Cross, are Latin sanctuaries, of which the regular and officially-recognized ministers are Franciscan friars, who also claim to be the rightful guardians of the Holy Sepulchre itself.

The history of the Franciscan recovery of holy places within the precinct of the Church of the Sepulchre for Latin guardianship and use begins in the fourteenth century with certain concessions made by the Sultan of Egypt to King Robert of Naples and his Queen, Sancia of Navarre, in A.D. 1313. These concessions authorized the Franciscans to enter into occupation of the Cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem; the Tomb of the Virgin Mary in the Valley of the Kedron; the ruins of the

Convent of Mount Zion, in which was shown the room identified as the "cœnaculum" where our Lord ate the last Passover with his disciples; the Chapel of the Apparition of the risen Lord to his mother, with the chambers adjoining the same, on the north side of the Anastasis; and the Sepulchre of the Lord.[1] The occupation of the Chapel of the Apparition led to, if it did not from the first carry with it, occupation of the north-eastern transept of the Anastasis, which became known as the Chapel of the Rabboni, being identified as the place where Mary Magdalene saw and spoke with the Lord after his resurrection, as is recorded in the twentieth chapter of S. John. The chambers adjoining the Chapel of the Apparition were used as a dwelling-place for the friars who performed the services of the Latin rite in the Chapel, in the Sepulchre, and other sanctuaries in the Sepulchre-Church.[2]

The concessions made on behalf of the Franciscans to King Robert of Naples by the Sultan of Egypt were so many infringements of rights claimed by the Eastern Orthodox under grants made or confirmed by Moslem sovereigns in former times, beginning with Omar, who first conquered Jerusalem for Islam in A.D. 637. They were destined to be copious sources of discord and strife and the com-

[1] Williams, *H.C.* I. Suppl., p. 64; Watson, *Jerusalem*, p. 240.
[2] Willis in *H.C.* II. p. 208.

mitting of many abominations in places represented by the common tradition of East and West as most holy. From the Moslem point of view, of course, the Eastern Orthodox had no rights over the holy places, their position being that of tenants at will. Sufferance was the badge of all Christian tribes subject to Moslem sovereignty, and the Eastern Orthodox, as Moslems understood the matter, might with perfect justice be compelled to surrender the holy places or share the use of them with other Christians, or with Moslems, or with Jews. The Orthodox, naturally enough, regarded Omar's ordinance as a recognition and confirmation *in perpetuum* of the state of possession actually existing at the time when Jerusalem first became subject to Moslem rule.

Having obtained authority to instal themselves in the Chapel of the Apparition and to assume the custody of the Sepulchre, the Franciscans were encouraged to seek a *locus standi* (or *locus orandi*) in the Golgotha-chapel. This enterprise was carried to a successful issue by the end of the fourteenth century, for the Russian pilgrim Ignatius of Smolensk, visiting Jerusalem about A.D. 1395, saw in the Golgotha-chapel an " altar of the Venetians " which is shown by other references in Russian pilgrim-narratives to mean a Franciscan altar.[1] This altar

[1] *Itinéraires Russes*, I. p. 150, cf. p. 315. See p. 265, above.

was placed in the southern half of the chapel, which was henceforth pointed out as the place where the Cross was laid on the ground and our Lord nailed to it, the northern half of the chapel, where the Orthodox had their altar, being distinguished as the place where the Cross, with our Lord nailed to it, had been set up in a hole cut in the rock.[1] The fissure in the rock, said to have been caused by the earthquake mentioned in S. Matthew's record of the Crucifixion, is shown in the space between the two altars, but there is no rock under the Latin or Franciscan altar, as there is under the Orthodox altar to the north of it. This circumstance, however, was accounted for by a legend relating that the southern half of the Golgotha-rock had been cut away by command of the Empress Helena and sent to Rome, where it was built into the foundations of the Church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.[2]

In addition to the southern half of the Golgotha-chapel, the Franciscans acquired possession of the domed chamber forming a vestibule to it, at the head of the steps leading up outside from a point

[1] *H.C.* II. pp. 227–228.

[2] *H.C.* II. p. 228; Norwood Young, *Rome*, p. 373. Compare 2 Kings v. 17 (Naaman asks for two mules' burden of earth from the land of Israel, to provide a foundation for an altar which he will build to Jehovah, the God of Israel, in Syria). Mr. Stephen Graham, in his book on Russian pilgrims in Jerusalem, speaks of pilgrims carrying away with them bags of Jerusalem soil.

close by the great southern doorway. This chamber was now made the scene of the Agony of the Virgin, which aforetime had been located in the spot covered by the altar in the Church of S. Maria Latina,[1] a structure facing the Sepulchre-church from across the "Street of the Palmers." Out of occupation of this chamber at the head of the steps leading up from close beside the great door there subsequently arose a claim to control over the use of those steps, and even over the approach through the *parvis*.

The Franciscans discovered that their Chapel of the Apparition occupied, not only the spot where the risen Christ had stood when he appeared to his mother, but also that where the identity of his Cross had been miraculously ascertained. The scene of this miracle had in former times been located in the "Street of the Column,"[2] but the instance of the scene of the "Agony of the Virgin" just mentioned, and that of the Stone of Unction show that holy places in Jerusalem were by no means immovable. There were three altars in the Chapel of the Apparition, and over each of the side-altars a niche. In the niche over the northern side-altar there was placed, in A.D. 1556, a piece of wood, supposed to

[1] Saewulf in *H.C.* II. p. 274 n. See also p. 227, n. 1, above.

[2] Arculf in Adamnan, *De Locii Sanctis* (Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, p. 239); Daniel in *Itin. Russes*, I. p. 18; pp. 181–183, above.

be a relic of the Cross, discovered when the marble casing of the Sepulchre-rock was taken down in order to be rebuilt at the charges of the Emperor Charles V and his son Philip. This relic, the Franciscans say, was subsequently stolen by the Armenians and sent to Etchmiadzin, the metropolis of the Armenian Church. In the niche over the southern altar, a fragment of a porphyry column was inserted. This was represented as a relic of the column to which our Lord was bound when he was scourged at Pilate's command. It was placed in the Chapel of the Apparition at the same time as the supposed relic of the Cross, and was one of a number of similar pieces, all of which were believed to be relics of the same "Columna Flagellationis" shown to pilgrims in former ages in the Church of Sion. The other fragments were sent to the Pope (Paul IV), the Emperor Ferdinand, King Philip of Spain, the Doge of Venice, and other Catholic princes. The relic of the "Columna Flagellationis" placed in the Chapel of the Apparition is there to this day. Another relic kept in the chapel, and one of perhaps less doubtful genuineness, is the sword of Godfrey de Bouillon.[1]

In token of their guardianship of the Sepulchre,

[1] Willis in *H.C.*, pp. 191, 206–207 and notes; Curzon, *Monasteries of the Levant*, pp. 164–165 and 161. The Armenians are also accused of having stolen the true "Stone of the Sepulchre," see *H.C.* II. p. 165 n.; p. 248, n. 2, above.

the Franciscans placed a picture of the Resurrection in the Tomb-chamber, on the north wall, above the horizontal slab covering the surface of rock which is believed to have been sanctified by the contact of our Lord's dead body.

The existence of such an adornment of the Tomb-chamber is witnessed to by the Russian archimandrite Grethenios, who visited the holy places about A.D. 1400. He describes it as a picture painted on canvas, representing Christ seated on a throne, with his right hand uplifted, and S. Francis standing before him. To one side were the watch, asleep at their posts by the door of the Sepulchre.[1]

In A.D. 1480 the Franciscans were evicted from part of their convent on Mount Sion, and in A.D. 1547 were compelled to give up possession of the remainder. They found compensation, however, in A.D. 1561, when they were permitted by the Moslem authorities to purchase the Iberian convent in the north-western quarter of the city, and fix their local head-quarters there. This convent, the Convent of S. Saviour, is still in their possession.[2]

The fact that the Russian pilgrim Basil Posniakov, visiting Jerusalem in A.D. 1560 or 1561, speaks of the Sion Convent as the " Convent of the Prince

[1] *Itinéraires Russes*, I. p. 171.

[2] Watson, *Jerusalem*, pp. 256, 257, 266; Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, p. 87.

of Venice."[1] and as having formerly been the property of the Venetians, taken together with the mention of the "altar of the Venetians" on Golgotha by Ignatius of Smolensk, who was in Jerusalem about A.D. 1395,[2] indicates that from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century the Venetian Republic took the lead among the European Powers in protecting Franciscan interests in Jerusalem. The Emperor Charles the Fifth and his son Philip, who succeeded him as King of Spain, bestirred themselves in A.D. 1555, at the instance of Bonifacius, Superior of the Convent of S. Saviour, to obtain the consent of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent to Bonifacius' proposal that the Franciscans should be entrusted with the restoration of the dilapidated Sepulchre-chapel.[3] Subsequently, the Kings of France assumed a vigorous protectorate over the Franciscans of Jerusalem, although the friars were mostly Italians or Spaniards. Fynes Morison, in his account of his visit to Jerusalem in A.D. 1596, reports that

[1] At the time of Posniakov's visit, the Franciscans had been evicted from the Sion Convent, but the fact of their having occupied it was still too recent to have been forgotten. *Itin. Russes*, I. pp. 315, 316, 323.

[2] *Itin. Russes*, I. p. 151.

[3] *H.C.* II. pp. 86–88, 189–192; Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* xvii., p. 724. Bonifacius was Superior of the convent A.D. 1550–1559 and 1563–1565. Probably more money had to be expended in fees and presents to the officials at Constantinople than over the actual work of rebuilding.

the Franciscans "are for the most part Italians, but are vulgarly called Francks, of the French who are in league with the Turkish Ottoman,[1] and they have the priviledge"—i.e. the exclusive right—"of singing their masses in the Sepulcher; not of free grant, but because they are best able to pay for their priviledges; yet it is free for any of the Christian sects to come into the Sepulcher."[2] The report of Deshayes, sent on a special mission to the Holy Land by Louis XIII of France in A.D. 1621, indicates the source from which came a considerable portion, at least, of the money paid by the Franciscans for their "priviledges." Deshayes reported that the "Cordeliers" (i.e. the Franciscans) who performed services in the Holy Sepulchre and the other sanctuaries maintained their position only because they were under the French King's protection.[3]

The office of Grand Dragoman or Chief Interpreter at the Sublime Porte was one of considerable importance. From A.D. 1669 to 1673 it was held by one Panagiotis Nicusis, a Constantinopolitan

[1] The history of modern French policy in the Levant begins with the treaty made between Suleiman the Magnificent and Francis I of France in A.D. 1535. Under the terms of this treaty the position of "most favoured nation" was obtained for the French in the Sultan's dominions. See J. A. R. Marriott, *The Eastern Question*.

[2] Morison, *Itinerary*, II. p. 30.

[3] In Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem*, II. p. 40.

Greek, who had already for a number of years exercised the function of interpreter in the service of the ambassadors of the Holy Roman Empire. Even as dragoman or interpreter to a foreign embassy Panagiotis possessed sufficient influence with the Grand Vizir Achmet Kiuprili Oglu to obtain a *hatti-sherif* or Imperial rescript ordering the Armenians of Jerusalem to withdraw from certain sanctuaries in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, from which they had ousted the Greeks. This intervention of the Imperial authority on behalf of the Greek Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre was procured in A.D. 1656. Sixteen years later, Panagiotis, now Grand Dragoman to the Sublime Porte, solicited and obtained the issue of another *hatti-sherif* in the interest of the Brotherhood, this time against the aggressions of the Franciscans. This second *hatti-sherif*, however, was not published or put in force until after Panagiotis' death, which befell on the 22nd of September, A.D. 1673. This delay may be accounted for, in part at least, by the fact that Panagiotis still continued to retain the office of Dragoman to the Ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire after his appointment to that of Grand Dragoman at the Porte. The Emperor being a Roman Catholic sovereign, any service rendered to the schismatic Greek Orthodox at the expense of a Roman Catholic religious order would

be displeasing to him. Furthermore, the influence of the "Most Christian King" of France, always inimical to the Greek Orthodox and protecting all Roman Catholic religious communities settled in the Levant, was very strong indeed at Constantinople. The execution of the *hatti-sherif* obtained by Panagiotis in A.D. 1672 was, it appears, precipitated by the pilgrimage of the French Ambassador, the Marquis de Nointel, to Jerusalem in the year following. De Nointel came to the Holy City with great pomp and circumstance, in order to exalt his sovereign's prestige and secure the services of the Franciscans as agents of French policy. When this was reported at Constantinople, the Patriarch Gerasimus hastened to the Ottoman Court, which at the time was residing at Adrianople, and laid before Achmet Kiuprili, the Grand Vizir, the *hatti-sherif* of A.D. 1672. Achmet Kiuprili delivered a confirmatory *hatti-sherif*, reinstating the Greek Orthodox in the custodianship of the Holy Sepulchre and the Cave of the Nativity, though at the same time it imposed upon them the obligation of paying a thousand piastres annually into the treasury of the Mosque of Sultan Achmet at Constantinople. Even then there was a further delay. The Franciscans, on hearing of Gerasimus' appeal and its result, began to pull wires in order to obtain a revocation of the two *hatti-sherifs*. They offered the Grand Vizir a

very considerable bribe, but found him inexorable and incorruptible. Ultimately, on January 25, A.D. 1676, the Greeks were formally reinstated in possession of the Sepulchre and the Cave of the Nativity.[1]

Dr. John Covel, Chaplain to the English Embassy at Constantinople from A.D. 1670 to 1678, and afterwards Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, quotes in the preface to his "Account of the Greek Church" certain "short minutes" taken from a copy of a letter written by one of the Franciscans of Jerusalem to a brother of the same Order stationed in Constantinople, describing the "violence and fury of the triumphing Greeks." Impotent to use their advantage with moderation, "they took away the Tapstry from the Holy Sepulcher, and from the Chappel of the Angel, and the Ornaments of Silver etc." And that, though the writer of the letter "bad the Patriarch take heed what he did, for the Tapstry belonged to the Emperor, to the Kings of Spain and France, to the Republick of Venice, and to other Christian princes, and that they"—the Franciscans—"that very day were obliged and ready to celebrate their memories; to which the Patriarch answered that he cared nothing for them. And so they would not suffer the Latins

[1] Paparrigopoulos, *History of the Greek Nation*, V. pp. 521–523; Covel, *Account of the Greek Church*, Pref., pp. li.-lii., and ch. v., pp. 132–133. January 25: commem. of Gregory of Nazianzus in the Greek Church.

that day to officiate at the Holy Sepulcher. The Greeks the next day perform'd their Office there, but first washt the Holy Sepulcher with hot Water and Sope and other Ceremonies, as if the Latins had been idolaters. That night the Square Picture of the Resurrection which was in the Holy Sepulcher was taken down, and the Latins found it the next morning torn to pieces and thrown by.[1] Now, saith he," i.e. the writer of the letter, " they begin to use us, both great and small, worse than Jews, the Patriarch publicly declaring that his party had overcome our Princes and Embassadors, which makes us ready to die with anguish, and we can do nothing but lament."[2] French diplomacy and Roman propagandism certainly suffered on that occasion a mortifying reverse. It was all the more vexatious for De Nointel, if the Capitulations agreed upon between France and the Porte in A.D. 1673 included an engagement on the part of the latter to maintain the Franciscans in undisturbed enjoyment of existing rights of occupation in the Church of the Sepulchre.[3] It was all the more exasperating

[1] It is uncertain whether this picture was the picture seen by Grethenios at the end of the fourteenth century, or a more recent work of art presented by the Pope or the Emperor at the time of the rebuilding of the Sepulchre-chapel.

[2] Covel, op. cit., Pref., pp. liii.–liv.

[3] The Capitulations may have been signed—most probably they were—before Gerasimus laid the *hatti-sherif* of 1672 before Achmet Kiuprili.

for the Franciscans and zealous Roman Catholics generally, because Dositheus, the Patriarch who cleansed the Sepulchre from what he chose to regard as the defiling contact of Latin hands and Latin oblations,[1] had caused a declaration of Eastern Orthodox Eucharistic doctrine to be drawn up in terms which at least gave colour to the contention of Arnaud and other Latin theologians that on the question of Transubstantiation the Greek Church was of one mind with the Roman. This declaration, be it observed, was issued on the authority, not of the Patriarch alone, but of a Synod convened by him in A.D. 1672 for the purpose of silencing all who maintained that in the essentials of belief and doctrine the Greek Orthodox agreed with the Protestant Churches.[2] The Franciscans—and De Nointel also, who had taken an active part in forwarding this affair—were to be excused if they had cherished the hope that the Patriarch of Jerusalem was ready to make his submission to Rome, and that not only he, but the other Patriarchs also, were of this mind, seeing that the declaration of the Synod of Jeru-

[1] After the reconquest of Jerusalem in A.D. 1187 the Moslems washed the Sakhra or Holy Rock in the Haram-es-Sherif, and sprinkled it with attar of roses (N.: The Dome of the Rock had been the first "Temple Church").

[2] Kimmel, *Monumenta Fidei Ecclesiae Orientalis*; Prolegom. p. lxxxv. seq.; Covel, op. cit. p. 136 f.; Williams, *H.C.* I. pp. 446–451.

salem had been approved and ratified at Constantinople. They were proportionately embittered by the disillusionment that followed.

Covel cites the behaviour of the Greeks on the occasion of their regaining the custody of the Sepulchre in A.D. 1676 as an example of the hatred cherished by Greeks against Latins. But the hatred, and the acts of violence expressing it, were not all on one side. For Latins to complain of Greek malice and brutality was as lawful as it ever was for the pot to reproach the kettle with griminess, for Satan to rebuke Beelzebub. In A.D. 1674 or 1675, as we learn from Covel's record, "Greeks and Latins preparing to adorn their several apartments at the Holy Sepulchre[1] in order to their celebrating their great feast of Easter,[2] fell out first about removing or using a ladder[3]: the Quarrel grew to such a monstrous height as they fell to blows and wounded one another and mutually shed one another's blood in the very Temple and at the very (pretended) Sepulchre of the Lord of Peace, and at last it ended in the murder of a poor Greek Calogero,[4] knockt

[1] I.e. in the Church of the Sepulchre.

[2] Easter must have fallen, in that year, on the same day for both Greeks and Latins, which is not always the case.

[3] Very possibly the ladder was required for enabling representatives of one or other of the rival Churches to ascend to the roof of the Sepulchre-chapel in order to view the ceremony of the Holy Fire on Easter Even.

[4] *Calogero* or *Caloyero* = καλόγηρος, καλόγερος, i.e. καλὸς γέρων,

down upon the Holy Pavement."[1] Such scenes of violence have indeed been enacted only too often in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and they have not even yet ceased to be possibilities.[2]

For fifteen years the Greeks retained possession of the Sepulchre-chapel. No doubt the Franciscans, in those years, ofttimes wished that Sixtus the Fifth's design of removing the Sepulchre-rock bodily to Loretto could have been executed.[3] The French Ambassador returned to the charge on their behalf

which is represented very closely by the French "beau sire." Dr. Neale, in a note on his romance of *Theodora Phranza*, defined the term as meaning a priest who is also a monk, but it seems to be used for all monks, and quite without regard to their age.

[1] Covel, op. cit., p. liv.

[2] The Franciscan who was Superior of the Convent in A.D. 1697 showed Maundrell a great scar on his arm which, he said, was the mark of a blow received from a Greek monk in a "free-for-all" at the Sepulchre: Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 442. In a book on the *Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine*, published in A.D. 1912, Dr. F. J. Bliss states that "a few years ago there was a dispute between the Greek and Franciscan priests as to the right to sweep the steps leading up from the court-yard to the Latin Chapel of the Agony of Mary." While the Turkish Governor of Jerusalem and the French Consul were conferring about the matter, in their capacity as civil representatives of the rival sects, a fight broke out in the *parvis*, in which the Latins got the worst of it. "Leading Greek priests and monks, in whose garments hatchets were found concealed, were arrested, tried, condemned"—and eventually pardoned by the Sultan (op. cit. p. 31).

[3] A similar design was entertained by Ferdinand I, Duke of Tuscany: see Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 724.

in A.D. 1685, and obtained a rescript ordering the retrocession of the Sepulchre to the brethren, but the order was not executed until A.D. 1691.[1]

Nearly fifty years later, viz. in A.D. 1740, the capitulations existing between the Crown of France and the Sublime Porte were renewed.[2] The thirty-third article of these capitulations was worded as follows:

"Les religieux Latins qui résident présentement, comme de tout temps, en dedans et en dehors de Jérusalem, et dans l'église du Saint Sépulcre dite Camamé, resteront en possession des lieux de pélerinage qu'ils ont, de la même manière qu'ils les ont possédés par le passé; personne ne les molestera et on ne les inquiétera point aussi par des demandes de contributions. Et s'ils avaient quelque procès qui ne peut être décidé sur les lieux, il sera renvoyé à notre Sublime Porte."[3]

What were the "lieux de pélerinage" in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which were actually occupied by the Latins (i.e. the Franciscans) in A.D. 1740? At the time of Deshayes' visit, A.D. 1621, the Franciscans were custodians and possessors of (1) the

[1] Wright, op. cit. p. 442; Dowling, *Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem*, p. 76.

[2] The Franco-Ottoman negotiations appear, so far as France and French interests were concerned, to have been rendered advisable by the situation of affairs in the Levant. The Turks had lately (1739) won back Belgrade and the Serbian and Croatian territory ceded to Austria under the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718).

[3] *Correspondence respecting the Rights and Privileges of the Latin and Greek Churches in Turkey*, presented to Parliament in 1854, p. 6.

Chapel of the Apparition, with the adjoining chambers where a few of them lived; (2) the Chapel of the Crucifixion—i.e. the southern part of the Golgotha-chapel; (3) the Stone of Unction; (4) the Crypt of the Finding of the Cross. To this list might be added the "Chapel of the Agony of the Virgin," in the north-east corner of the *parvis* or quadrangle in front of the Church. These were exclusively Latin sanctuaries; none but Latins worshipped in them. The Franciscans claimed the custody of the Holy Sepulchre, but Christians of other rites could enter the Sepulchre and pray there. A hundred and twenty years later, they claimed, if they did not in all instances actually exercise, or obtain recognition of their claim to exercise, to the exclusion of all others, custody over (1) the Anastasis, saving part of the triforium; (2) the Sepulchre; (3) the great eastern arch of the Anastasis; (4) the north-east transept of the Anastasis, now called the Rabboni Chapel; (5) the Chapel of the Apparition; (6) the Prison of Christ and the corridor connecting it with the north-east transept of the Anastasis; (7) the Crypt of the Finding of the Cross; (8) the Stone of Unction, together with the south transept of the Crusaders' Church; (9) the Chapel of the Crucifixion—i.e. the southern half of the Golgotha-chapel; (10) the Chapel of Adam; (11) the Chapel of the Agony; (12) the *parvis* or quadrangle in

front of the Church of the Sepulchre, which was accessible to pilgrims only on this side. In short, the Franciscans claimed complete control over nearly the whole of the buildings outside and around the Katholikon, i.e. the Choir of the Crusaders' Church, which was the Cathedral of the Greek Patriarch.[1]

This catalogue of sanctuaries claimed, whether with or without success, for Franciscan custodianship in A.D. 1740 is taken from the statement of Franciscan claims given to Sir Stratford Canning, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, in October, A.D. 1851, and forwarded by him to Lord Palmerston in November of that year. M. de Lavalette, the French Ambassador, was of the opinion that the Mixed Commission appointed in the summer of A.D. 1851 to inquire into the actual state of affairs existing in A.D. 1740 had clearly established the right of the Franciscans to occupy all that they claimed; in other words, they had really occupied in A.D. 1740 all that they claimed in A.D. 1851. That, of course, was the French and Latin view of the matter.[2]

Granting, however, that M. de Lavalette's

[1] *Correspondence*, etc., p. 19. Similar claims were asserted by the Franciscans over the basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem, the Virgin's Tomb in the Valley of the Kedron, and the traditional Garden of Gethsemane.

[2] *Correspondence*, etc., p. 16 (No. 17).

contentions were true as to the facts of possession or occupation in A.D. 1740, they were still open to question as regarded the *right* to occupy.

Over against the records favouring Latin claims there stood a series of rescripts granted in recognition of Greek Orthodox claims by Mohammedan potentates, from the Khalif Omar in the seventh century down to the Khalif Abd-ul-Medjid, Sultan of Turkey, in the nineteenth. A *précis* of these documents was sent by Sir Stratford Canning to Lord Palmerston, along with the extracts from the Franco-Ottoman Capitulations of A.D. 1740.[1] The Greek Orthodox took their stand on strong ground when they appealed to the ordinance of Omar, issued by him in A.D. 637, immediately after he had taken possession of Jerusalem.[2] The Patriarch

[1] *Correspondence*, etc., pp. 21–23.

[2] *Correspondence*, etc., p. 21: "Hazret-Omer-Hatap, le conquérant de Jérusalem, sous le patriarcat de Sophronius, rendit un Actinané, en vertu duquel le Saint Sépulcre et ses dépendances ont été mises sous l'autorité du patriarche grec, et les autres rites et religions soumis à cet égard à son obéissance, ainsi qu'une immunité complète fut accordée au Couvent du Saint Sépulcre." This act was recognized as authoritative by Mohammed El-Ghazi after the conquest of Constantinople in A.D. 1453. Mohammed was not ruler over Palestine, but his possession of Constantinople gave him immense prestige. His rescript was granted in answer to a petition from the Patriarch of Constantinople. Further confirmations were granted by Sultan Selim I after the Ottoman conquest of Syria (A.D. 1516) and by Sultan Suleiman (about A.D. 1563).

Sophronius had represented the inhabitants of the city in the negotiations preceding the surrender. The rights of the Patriarchate, or of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre, of which the Patriarch was head, were the only rights existing to be recognized by the Khalif, in relation to the Holy Sepulchre and its associated sanctuaries.[1] When the Imperial magistrates, officers, police, and garrison withdrew from Jerusalem, the Patriarch definitely became the head of the whole Christian community in Jerusalem, and its principal representative in dealings with the Mohammedan authorities. Omar's act set a precedent binding upon all who, coming after him, claimed to be true and lawful successors of the Prophet, whether Ommiades of Damascus, Abbassides of Bagdad, Fatimides of Cairo, or Osmanides of Constantinople.

The Greek Orthodox were never entirely deprived of a place and standing in the Church of the Sepulchre by their Moslem rulers. But there were profits to be made out of concessions to the "Franks" and other "Nazarenes," infringing upon the rights recognized by the Khalif Omar. Christian importunities for concession of rights were regarded as Moslem opportunities for collection of bribes and tribute. The contemptuous attitude of the Moslems

[1] They were recognized by implication when Omar refused to have his prayer-mat spread in the Anastasis (p. 146, above).

was hardly, if at all, mitigated, even when Christian Europe began to show itself more powerful than Moslem Asia, as it did in the course of the eighteenth century. The Ottoman Sultans were well aware that Christian Europe was not one Power, but five at least, and they addressed themselves, with much dexterity, to the enterprise of playing off one Power against another. The advantages, nay, the necessity, of a "Balance of Power" were as well understood in Stamboul as at Westminster.

With what unscrupulousness the Ottoman Sultans and their advisers were accustomed to deal with the rival claims to the custody of holy places in Jerusalem is disclosed in the fact that the concessions made to the Latins in A.D. 1740 intervene between rescripts confirmatory of Greek Orthodox claims granted to Meletius, Patriarch of Jerusalem from A.D. 1733 to 1737, and to his successor Parthenius, Patriarch from A.D. 1737 to 1766.[1] It is doubtful indeed whether suitable action was taken upon the acknowledgments made by the Ottoman authorities in A.D. 1740.[2] But the acknowledgments had been given and were recorded "in black and white." Fuel had been added to the fires of jealousy, and a day was to come when the Ottoman Empire was to find itself menaced, if not with speedy destruction, at any rate

[1] *Correspondence*, etc., p. 22.
[2] *Correspondence*, etc., p. 75.

with grave loss and injury, by reason of the purposely unadjusted conflict between Greeks and Latins over the custody of the Sepulchre and other Christian sanctuaries.

A fire which broke out at 8 p.m. on October 12, A.D. 1808, in the southern part of the triforium of the Anastasis went near to destroying, not only the Anastasis itself and the Sepulchre-chapel within it, but the Katholikon and the Golgotha-chapel as well.[1] So great was the injury inflicted, especially upon the Anastasis and the Sepulchre-chapel, that a very extensive measure of rebuilding was rendered necessary. All the sects sharing in and contending over the use of the sanctuaries had cause to deplore the calamity and promote the work of restoration. But though the fire that had wrecked the sacred buildings burnt itself out, the fires of fanaticism were unquenchable. Greeks and Latins contended for the exclusive privilege of carrying out the work of restoration, each party hoping to secure thereby an opportunity of enlarging its *de facto* area of possession and control. Even in the face of a Mohammedan *émeute* led by fanatics of Islam eager to complete the ruin almost accomplished by the fire, and to make an end of the detested "Church of the Dunghill," Christian jealousies could not be repressed.

The contentions of the "brethren" were, of

[1] Willis in *H.C.*, II. p. 262 f.

course, brought for decision before the tribunal of the unbelieving. Age could not wither, nor custom stale, this infinite impropriety.[1] The business of the restoration was ultimately committed to the Greeks, who expended not less than two and a half millions of roubles in obtaining judgment in their favour. Yet they had some reason to regard the money as well spent. The judgment might be construed as a recognition of the priority of their claims.

On the actual restoration of the church the Greeks expended a sum amounting to not more than one half of that with which they had purchased authorization to take the work in hand. The total expenditure in fees, bribes, purchase of materials, salaries, and wages, ran up to four millions of roubles.[2]

[1] 1 Cor. vi. 1.

[2] Willis in *H.C.* II. p. 284. The mere fact that the sum is quoted in *roubles* indicates that a very considerable proportion of the total was obtained in Russia. Note that the official report of the conflagration, drawn up and circulated by Callinicus, Patriarch of Constantinople, in A.D. 1809, was translated into Russian. Yet Russia, at the time, was at war with the Ottoman Empire, and the hostilities continued until 1812. With France and Austria the Porte's relations were friendly. It is clear that no Russian influence could have been exerted at Constantinople on behalf of the Greek Brotherhood of the Sepulchre, and that French or Austrian influence was either not exerted at all on behalf of the Franciscans, or was exerted without adequate pecuniary reinforcements. The contributions of the Russian Orthodox must have been forwarded through Austria—likely enough by the agency of Jews—to the *metóchi* or priory of the Greek Brotherhood of the Sepulchre in Constantinople.

The restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre after the fire of A.D. 1808 was accomplished with much more expedition than its restoration after the demolition ordered by El-Hakem in A.D. 1010. Nothing could have been done before the beginning of the year 1809, at the earliest; yet the work was finished and the restored church dedicated anew by September 14, 1810.[1] It is not hard to divine the reason of the exertions made to complete the work speedily. The Greek Orthodox must have been feverishly anxious to confront the Moslem authorities on the one hand, and their Latin rivals on the other, with the *fait accompli* of a Greek restoration of the Church of the Sepulchre as soon as possible.

Of the opportunities presented by their position as sole authorized rebuilders and restorers the Greeks naturally took advantage, if not as far as they wished, at any rate as far as they dared. Whatever disturbance they might have previously suffered at the hands of the Latins in the use of

[1] Sept. 14, O.S. (= Sept. 26, N.S.). The 14th of September is the anniversary of the dedication of Constantine's buildings in A.D. 335, and the return of the Wood of the Cross from Persia to Jerusalem in A.D. 629. (In the modern *Horologion*, Sept. 13 is the anniversary of the dedication of Constantine's buildings, while Sept. 14 is the commemoration of the solemn enshrinement of the Wood of the Cross in A.D. 335 and its return from Persian captivity in A.D. 629. But Etheria, A.D. 385, makes Sept. 14 the anniversary of the *encaenia* or dedication of Constantine's Martyrion and Anastasis.) See above, pp. 79–80, 142–143.

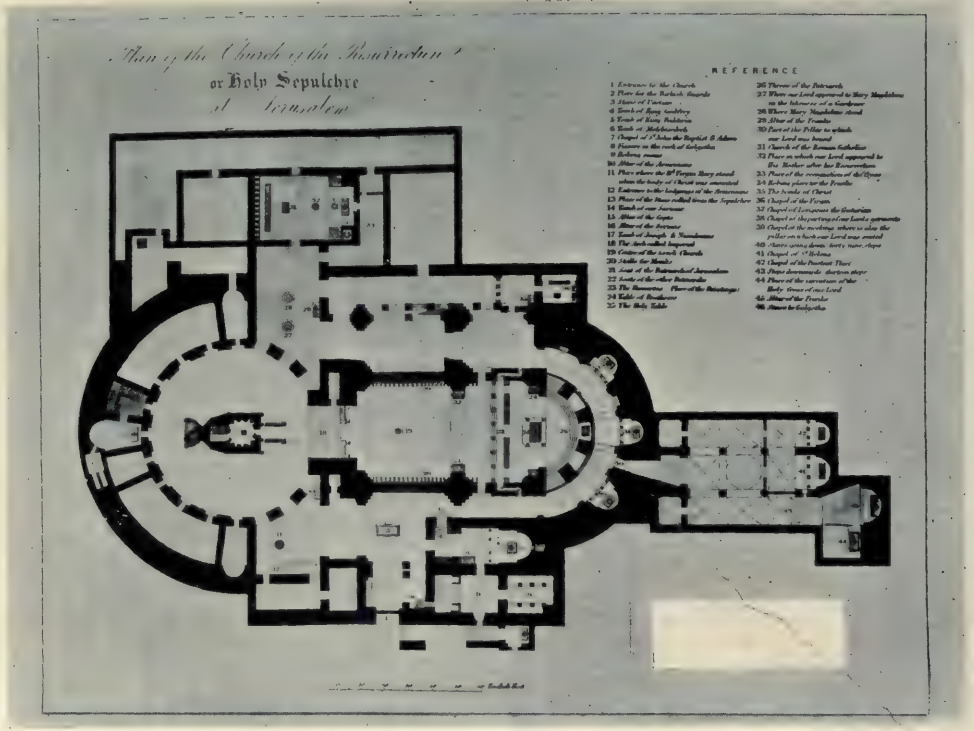

PLATE G.—GROUND PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE AS RESTORED AFTER THE FIRE OF A.D. 1808.
(From Williams, *Holy City*, vol. i.).

[*To face page* 296.

the ambulatory of the Anastasis, the Chapel of Adam, and the "Prison of Christ," was compensated for by taking full possession, against which the Franciscans clamoured in vain. Greek Orthodox claims were subsequently recognized and confirmed in *hatti-sherifs* issued by Sultan Mahmoud and his successor Abd-ul-Medjid. If the complaints made by the Franciscans in A.D. 1850 were grounded in fact, the Greeks also took possession of the chamber containing "S. Helena's Well" close by the Chapel of the Apparition, invaded the north-east transept of the Anastasis (the "Rabboni Chapel"), and encroached upon Latin "territory" in the process of restoring the western and southern portions of the Katholikon.[1] It is certain, at any rate, that the last remnants of the tombs of the Crusading kings disappeared in the course of the restoration.[2]

If the Greeks had not already, before A.D. 1808, taken over from the Iberians the custody of the southern altar in the Crypt of the Cross, they cer-

[1] *Correspondence*, etc., p. 21.

[2] In removing the last traces of these monuments the Greek monks of the Holy Sepulchre displayed the same spitefulness as at a later date caused the municipality of Athens to demolish a tower which had been erected close by the Propylæa of the Acropolis in the time of the Frankish Dukes of Athens. For notices of the removal of these tombs, see Willis in *H.C.* II. pp. 231–232; *Correspondence*, etc., p. 21; Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. pp. 728–729; Watson, *Jerusalem*, pp. 276–277.

tainly did so when they restored the church, or soon after.

The Franciscans retained custody and possession of the Chapel of the Apparition, the northern altar in the Crypt of the Cross, the southern Golgotha-chapel, and the Chapel of the Agony of the Virgin. If they were deprived of the "Rabboni Chapel"—which is by no means certain—their deprivation was but for a time.[1] They were also able to celebrate Mass in the Sepulchre-chapel as of yore.[2] But the restored chapel was a Greek, not a Latin, monument. The structure rebuilt by Bonifacius in A.D. 1556 had been wrecked, though the tomb-chamber within had suffered little or no injury. In place of the Latin inscription commemorating the piety of the Emperor Charles V, of Philip of Spain, and of Brother Bonifacius,[3] there was now a Greek inscrip-

[1] In the plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in *H.C.* I. opp. p. 446, which was drawn not later than A.D. 1849, the "Rabboni Chapel" is represented as a Latin sanctuary. No complaint over exclusion from the "Rabboni Chapel" was made in A.D. 1851. It was not mentioned among the "sanctuaires et possessions desquels les Latins sont actuellement tout-à-fait exclus" in the statement furnished in that year to Sir Stratford Canning.

[2] The Sepulchre is one of the holy places shared by the Latins with other "nations" in A.D. 1851 (see *Correspondence*, etc., p. 21).

[3] Text (incomplete) of this inscription in *J.R.I.B.A.*, XVII., p. 724: D. IESV. SEPVLC. A. FVNDAM. INSTA. FVIT. AÑO. S. INC. MDLV. PER F. BONIFACIV̄. DE. RAGVSIO. G. S. M. SION. SV̄PTIBVS. Something must be supplied after SV̄PTIBVS. Written out in full, the inscription would seem to have run as follows: "Domini

tion recording the name of the architect of the restoration, Comnenus Calphas of Mitylene.[1]

In A.D. 1840 the Franciscans rebuilt in part the Chapel of the Apparition,[2] apparently without let or hindrance from the Greeks. A year later, the Greeks, having obtained permission from the Ottoman Government to repair the great cupola of the Anastasis, which had become leaky, were prevented from executing this useful enterprise by the Franciscans, who " pulled wires " at Constantinople and so caused the permission given to the Greeks to be revoked.[3]

Iesu Sepulcrum a fundamentis instauratum fuit anno salutaris Incarnationis millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto per fratrem Bonifacium de Ragusio custodem sancti Montis Sion sumptibus Imperatoris Caroli filiique eius Regis Hispanorum Philippi." (*C*, the first letter of " custodem," is a conjectural emendation for *G* in the text of the inscription).

[1] Baedeker-Socin, *Palestine* (ed. 1912), p. 40.

[2] Jeffery in *J.R.I.B.A.* XVII. p. 728. The Chapel of the Apparition had escaped destruction in the great fire. It was originally built with three apses at its eastern end (v. s.). In its reconstructed form, the chapel was made to terminate in a straight wall, see the plan in *H.C.* I. p. 446, or Baedeker-Socin, p. 36.

[3] Williams, *H.C.* II. p. 537. The cupola, like its predecessor which perished in the fire of A.D. 1808, was constructed of wood covered with lead. It was hemispherical, however, not conical, in form (Jeffery, op. cit. XVII. p. 808). Busch describes the opening at the top as cruciform, not circular, *Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem*, p. 240. In A.D. 1868 it was taken down and in its place was erected the existing unsightly iron structure. The erection of this last cupola was an international affair, prepared for by solemn negotiations between Napoleon III, Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz, and Tsar Alexander II.

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